



Rolling Stone

Issue 1249 >> December 3, 2015
\$4.99

**Matt
Taibbi**
On the
Road With
the GOP

Springsteen
Revisits
'The River'

Coldplay
Surprise
Album

**Bernie
Sanders**
THE ROLLING STONE
INTERVIEW

FRESHLY SQUEEZED RADIO

FEATURING "LEAVE A TRACE" BY CHVRCHES



FREE MUSIC FOR EVERYTHING YOU DO

Google Play Music has curated radio stations to make every moment better. So next time you open your eyes and say "good morning, world," visit Google Play Music for "Freshly Squeezed Radio" featuring "Leave A Trace" by CHVRCHES and more fresh and airy indie pop.

Google Play **Music**

Try for free at g.co/music or tap  on your Android phone

Play Music

ARE YOU NOW OR HAVE YOU EVER BEEN...

A LOYALIST A STALINIST A NOVEL
-WINNER A PATRIOT A HUSBAND
HIZER A HERO BLACKLISTED
N ECCENT A SCREENWRITER
A TRAITOR REBEL
A GENIUS A FATHER
A RADICAL LEFTIST
SYMPATHIZE COMMUNIST
RIST
BLACKLISTED
TIRI
LOVE
A SAT

TRUMBO

Bryan Cranston Diane Lane and Helen Mirren



Louis C.K. Elle Fanning John Goodman Michael Stuhlbarg

Written by John McNamara Directed by Jay Roach



SHIV HANS

Groundswell

NOW PLAYING

TrumboMovie.com

BLEECKER
STREET

RS1249

"All the
News
That Fits"

SMOKING HOT
Scott Eastwood
is a rising star
— and Taylor's
favorite video
hunk. Page 46



THE HOT LIST 2015

What's new, what's
next, what's nuts: the
most badass garage
band, a subversive
superhero, viral dance
crazes and more..... 41

FEATURES

27
**The GOP Clown
Car Rolls On**
On the road with the most
underqualified candidates
in history.

33
**21 Gifts for
Music Lovers**
Killer audio gear, rock
books and more.

54
**The Rolling Stone
Interview:
Bernie Sanders**
On challenging Hillary,
taking on the one percent,
and his radical campaign.

ON THE COVER
Bernie Sanders photographed in
New York on October 26th, 2015,
by **Christopher Anderson**.

ROCK & ROLL

13
**Chris Martin Gets
His Groove Back**
Coldplay team up with
Stargate for a "hippie"
new album.

16
**How Elton
Rocked Again**
His upcoming LP nods to
his mid-Seventies classics.

EDITOR AND PUBLISHER: Jann S. Wenner

MANAGING EDITOR: Jason Fine
EXECUTIVE EDITOR: Nathan Brackett
DEPUTY MANAGING EDITOR: Sean Woods
ASSISTANT MANAGING EDITOR: Alison Weinflash
SENIOR WRITERS: David Fricke, Brian Hiatt, Peter Travers

SENIOR EDITORS: Stayton Bonner, Christian Hoard, Coco McPherson, Thomas Walsh
ASSOCIATE EDITORS: Patrick Doyle, Andy Greene, Jessica Machado

ASSISTANT EDITORS: Elisabeth Garber-Paul, Jason Macey
ASSISTANT TO THE EDITOR AND PUBLISHER: Ally Lewis

ASSISTANT TO THE MANAGING EDITOR: Wendy Appelle
EDITORIAL STAFF: Annie Licata
ROLLINGSTONE.COM: Brandon Geist (*Editorial Dir.*), Scott Pettis (*Design Dir.*), Josh Swade (*Exec. Prod., Film & Video*), David Fear, Rob Fischer, Lauren Kelley, James Montgomery, Hank Shteamer, Simon Vozick-Levinson (*Senior Eds.*), Beville Dunkerley, Joseph Hudak (*Senior Eds., RS Country*), Sarah Allison, Ben Verlinde (*Art Dirs.*), Jason Newman (*News Ed.*), LaurieAnn Wojnowski (*Interactive Prod.*), Shara Sprecher (*Social Media Ed.*), David Ehrlich, Kory Grow, Brittany Spanos, Tessa Stuart (*Staff Writers*), Suzy Exposito (*Producer*), Rochelle Morton (*Assoc. Photo Ed.*), James McGill (*Visual Designer*), Paul DiNatale (*Head of Video Prod.*), Patrick Smith (*Dir. of Content Development - Video*), Sam Lipman-Stern, Ashley Maas, Jami Shapero (*Video Prods.*), Billy Woodward (*Motion Graphics Designer*), Megan McBride (*Production Mgr.*), Chelsea Johnston (*Jr. Designer*)
CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: Matthieu Aikins, Mark Binelli, David Browne, Rich Cohen, Jonathan Cott, Cameron Crowe, Anthony DeCurtis, Tim Dickinson, Jon Dolan, Raoul Duke (*Sports*), Gavin Edwards, Josh Eells, Jenny Eliscu, Sabrina Rubin Erdely, Mikal Gilmore, Jeff Goodell, Vanessa Grigoriadis, Erik Hedegaard, Will Hermes, Robert F. Kennedy Jr., Steve Knopper, David Kushner, Guy Lawson, Greil Marcus, Alex Morris, Charles Perry, Janet Reitman, Stephen Rodrick, Austin Scaggs, Jeff Sharlet, Rob Sheffield, Paul Solotaroff, Ralph Steadman (*Gardening*), Neil Strauss, Matt Taibbi, Touré, Ben Wallace-Wells, Jonah Weiner, Christopher R. Weingarten, David Wild

DESIGN DIRECTOR: Joseph Hutchinson
CREATIVE DIRECTOR: Jodi Peckman
ART DEPARTMENT: Matthew Cooley, Mark Maltais (*Art Dirs.*)
PHOTO DEPARTMENT: Sacha Lecca (*Deputy Photo Ed.*), Griffin Lotz (*Assoc. Photo Ed.*), Sandford Griffin (*Finance Mgr.*)

PUBLISHER: Michael H. Provus
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, DIGITAL ADVERTISING: Matthew Habib
HEAD OF MARKETING: Kerri Mackar
ADVERTISING BUSINESS DIRECTOR: Danika Parente
NEW YORK: James Craemer, Lora Logan, Craig Mura
MIDWEST: Adam Anderson (*Dir.*)
WEST COAST: Kurt DeMars (*Dir.*)
SOUTHWEST: Adam Knippa, Ellen Lewis, Michael Stafford
SOUTHEAST: Christine Costello, Peter Zuckerman
NATIONAL MUSIC DIRECTOR: Mitch Herskowitz
SENIOR ADVERTISING BUSINESS MANAGER: Jessica Grill
MARKETING: Gina Abatangelo, Michael Boyd, Emma Greenberg, Sara Katzki
PUBLICITY: Kathryn Brenner

HEAD OF DIGITAL: Gus Wenner
DIGITAL SALES: Nina Sasson (*Los Angeles*), Brian Szejka (*Chicago*)
DIGITAL OPERATIONS: Alvin Ling (*Exec. Dir.*), Justin Harris
ACCOUNT MANAGEMENT: Eric Ward (*Dir.*), Christine Chung, Summer Hawkey

CIRCULATION: Elyse Kossin (*Dir.*), Amy Fisher, Mee-Vin Mak, Jeff Tandy
MANUFACTURING: John Dragonetti (*Dir.*), Jessica Horowitz, Therese Hurter, Paul Leung, Chris Marcantonio

CHIEF FINANCIAL OFFICER: Timothy Walsh
GENERAL COUNSEL: Natalie Krodel
HUMAN RESOURCES DIRECTOR: Victoria Kirtley Shannon
INTERNATIONAL LICENSING DIRECTOR: Maureen Lambert
RESEARCH DIRECTOR: Amy Matoian Ninomiya
CONTROLLER: Karen Reed

Wenner Media
CHAIRMAN: Jann S. Wenner
VICE PRESIDENTS: Victoria Lasdon Rose, Timothy Walsh, Jane Wenner

MAIN OFFICES
 1290 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10104-0298;
 212-484-1616
NATIONAL MUSIC ADVERTISING: 441 Lexington Ave.,
 New York, NY 10017; 212-490-1715
DIRECT-RESPONSE ADVERTISING: 212-484-4256
REGIONAL OFFICES
 333 N. Michigan Ave., Suite 1105, Chicago, IL 60601;
 312-782-2366
 5700 Wilshire Blvd., Suite 345, Los Angeles,
 CA 90036; 323-930-3300
 Lewis Stafford Co., 5000 Quorum Dr., Suite 545,
 Dallas, TX 75254; 972-960-2889
 Z Media, 1666 Kennedy Causeway, Suite 602,
 Miami Beach, FL 33141; 305-532-5566

Copyright © 2015 by Rolling Stone LLC. All rights reserved.
 Reproduction in whole or in part without permission is prohibited. Rolling Stone® is a registered trademark of Rolling Stone LLC. Printed in the United States of America.

RALPH J. GLEASON 1917-1975
HUNTER S. THOMPSON 1937-2005

ROLLING STONE is printed on 100 percent carbon-neutral paper.



VIDEO

ANOTHER SIDE OF DAVID DUCHOVNY

The first episode in our new series, "Off the Clock," about artists and their hobbies: The actor embarks on a side career as a singer-songwriter while awaiting the return of *The X-Files* in early 2016. "For me to get up and sing live is insane," says Duchovny.



MUSIC

ON THE ROAD WITH TYLER

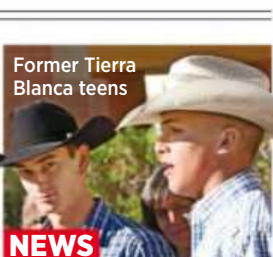
Two wild nights hanging out with Tyler, the Creator on his tour through the South. Read our in-depth portrait of one of the most controversial – and creative – talents in hip-hop.



LIST

BAD STARTS TO GREAT CAREERS

Even the best can sometimes start out on the wrong foot. We ranked the worst-ever debut albums, by artists like Billy Joel, George Harrison and Lou Reed.



NEWS

NIGHTMARE IN NEW MEXICO

An inside look at Tierra Blanca Ranch: a 20-year-old rehabilitation camp for troubled teens that uses unproven, controversial – and shockingly common – methods.

360 DEGREES OF COUNTRY!

Come to Rolling Stone Country for daily news, video and reviews on Nashville and beyond. This week on our series, Grammy-winning trio Lady Antebellum talk about their surprise EDM hit "Something Better" with DJ Audien, and why they were apprehensive about exploring the world of dance music. Powered by Ram. **ALL THIS AND MORE AT ROLLINGSTONE.COM/RAMREPORT**



Lady Antebellum

POLITICS MATT TAIBBI

RollingStone.com/taibbi

CULTURE ROB SHEFFIELD

RollingStone.com/sheffield

MOVIES PETER TRAVERS

RollingStone.com/travers

ROCK & ROLL DAVID FRICKE

RollingStone.com/fricke

FOLLOW US ON



TO EXPLORE OUR ARCHIVES, VISIT ROLLINGSTONE.COM/COVERWALL

ROLLING STONE (ISSN 0035-791X) is published biweekly except for the first issue in July and at year's end, when two issues are combined and published as double issues, by Wenner Media LLC, 1290 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10104-0298. The entire contents of ROLLING STONE are copyright © 2015 by ROLLING STONE LLC, and may not be reproduced in any manner, either in whole or in part, without written permission. All rights are reserved. Canadian Goods and Service Tax Registration No. R125041855. International Publications Mail Sales Product Agreement No. 450553. The subscription price is \$39.96 for one year. The Canadian subscription price is \$52.00 for one year, including GST, payable in advance. Canadian Postmaster: Send address changes and returns to P.O. Box 63, Malton CFC, Mississauga, Ontario L4T 3B5. The foreign subscription price is \$80.00 for one year, payable in advance. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY, and additional mailing offices. Canada Post publication agreement #40683192. Postmaster: Send address changes to ROLLING STONE Customer Service, P.O. Box 62230, Tampa, FL 33662-2230.

NICE THAT
AFTER
ALL THESE YEARS,
YOU CAN STILL
MAKE HER
HEART
SKIP A BEAT.



A DIAMOND IS FOREVER

HAPPY HOLIDAYS FROM FOREVERMARK

Correspondence

Love Letters
& Advice



It's the Weeknd

WELL-WRITTEN COVER story on the Weeknd by Josh Eells ["The Weeknd's Dark Twisted Fantasy," RS 1247]. I've been following Abel Tesfaye since Day One. When I heard his soothing falsetto and airtight production, I knew he was destined for fame.

Leon Laing, Harrisburg, PA

I WISH JOSH EELLS HAD hammered Tesfaye more on his misogyny, but I do love the Weeknd's music. *Beauty Behind the Madness* is like dark R&B Phil Collins – the songs are supremely catchy. I've had some of those hooks in my head all day.

Adam Lehrer, via the Internet

WITH THE RELEASE OF HIS three mixtapes, Tesfaye gave kids and young adults who were completely lost a feeling of empowerment and confidence. I love all the hype and attention he's getting – he's earned it.

Nick Matthews, via the Internet

All Locked Up

OUR COUNTRY HAS A RICH failed history of using criminal justice to address social issues ["Why Can't We End Mass Incarceration?" RS 1247]. We think that for every social problem, we can create a criminal class of "bad people" and arrest away the problem. A cen-

EDITOR'S NOTE Keystone XL Victory

DELIVERING FINAL REJECTION OF THE Keystone XL pipeline in November, President Obama embraced an argument first made in the mainstream media by journalist and climate activist Bill McKibben in his *ROLLING STONE* essay "Global Warming's Terrifying New Math," published in 2012. "If we're going to prevent large parts of this Earth from becoming not only inhospitable but uninhabitable in our lifetimes," Obama declared, "we're going to have to keep some fossil fuels in the ground."

Across the years, *ROLLING STONE* readers have had a frontline view of the battle against Keystone XL – beginning with McKibben's 2011 account of his arrest at an early Keystone protest. *ROLLING STONE* has also illuminated the pipeline's impact on farm communities in Nebraska, where Neil Young and Willie Nelson staged a benefit concert; on the finances of the Koch brothers, who hold massive leases of Canadian tar sands; and on average Canadians, who revolted against a conservative administration that made a catastrophic bet on dirty oil.

In the aftermath of Obama's decision, McKibben had high praise for a president who vowed in his first campaign to liberate America from the "tyranny" of oil. "We've always said when we started the protest: What we want is for President Obama to live up to the words he spoke in the 2008 campaign," McKibben says. "And in this case he did." Obama has now become "the first world leader to stop a big project because of its effect on the climate," says McKibben. "That's a real legacy and one that will reverberate all over the world."

The man at the center of the movement also lauded the work of an unlikely army of fellow protesters. "This was an insanely broad and diverse coalition that redefined 'environmentalist': indigenous people, scientists, farmers and ranchers, faith communities," McKibben says. "People collaborated from the smallest grassroots organizations to the biggest green groups." More important, McKibben says the anti-Keystone campaign shifted the global-warming debate out of the abstract, heady realm of science journals and international protocols, and finally gave climate activists a means to "build momentum in the real world."

tury ago, our ancestors banned alcohol; the result filled our prisons, expanded the scope of government, corrupted public institutions and laid the foun-

dation for the police state we have today. You'd think we'd learn from this history, but I guess not.

Mark Sievers, via the Internet



THANKS TO NICK PINTO FOR his fine reporting on a story that gets a lot of coverage, but, quite often, without much nuance. I'm glad that in the twilight of his presidency, Obama has finally turned the spotlight on our outrageous and inhuman prison system.

Steven Wallace, via the Internet

Reefer Madness

AS A PROGRESSIVE MILLENNIAL Ohioan, I want legal, taxable marijuana ["The Great Ohio Weed War," RS 1247]. But I was uncomfortable about the economic intentions of ResponsibleOhio. Ben Wofford's well-written report persuaded me to vote no on Issue 3 in November and wait until Ohio can get marijuana legalization passed the right way.

Logan Burd, Columbus, OH

APPROXIMATELY 18,000 Ohioans are likely to be arrested for marijuana next year while the hippies and the suits hash out who gets to make the money. I thought this crusade was about simple justice and not the "soul of the marijuana movement."

Ric Parks, Concord, CA

Ultimate Rogan

INSPIRED CHOICE TO HAVE Erik Hedegaard profile Joe Rogan ["The Psychedelic Warrior," RS 1247]. Every time I write Rogan off as a muscle-bound nut, he says something and I do a spit take. His podcasts have been a massive surprise. Who knew?

Will Matthews, via the Internet

Contact Us

LETTERS to *ROLLING STONE*, 1290 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10104-0298. Letters become the property of *ROLLING STONE* and may be edited for publication.

E-MAIL letters@rollingstone.com

SUBSCRIBER SERVICES Go to RollingStone.com/customerservice

•Subscribe •Renew •Cancel •Missing Issues •Give a Gift •Pay Bill •Change of Address



THE MICROTHERM® STORMDOWN® JACKET
WORN BY EDDIE BAUER ALPINE GUIDE JAKE NORTON.
INNOVATIVE WARMTH. LIGHTWEIGHT VERSATILITY.
800 FILL WATER-REPELLENT GOOSE DOWN INSULATION.
EVERYTHING YOU NEED. NOTHING YOU DON'T.

Eddie Bauer
LIVE YOUR ADVENTURE®

The Playlist

OUR FAVORITE SONGS, ALBUMS AND VIDEOS RIGHT NOW



1. Cage the Elephant "Mess Around"

Dan Auerbach produced the Kentucky crew's new LP – and you can hear it in the way this killer fuzz-bomb of a song tightens up their sound for maximum catchiness.

2. Coldplay "Adventure of a Lifetime"

The sad balladeers who made "The Scientist" are a distant memory on this sequin-spangled tune from Coldplay's upcoming LP. It's their sweetest plunge yet into full-on disco bliss.

3. Missy Elliott "WTF (Where They From)" video

No one makes a video like Missy, whose latest clip features uncanny-valley puppets, freaky dance moves and so much more.



4. Aurora "Half the World Away"

Over in England, this 19-year-old Norwegian singer-songwriter's superpretty, bittersweet Oasis cover is already a big deal. Give her version a listen, and you'll fall in love too.



5. Eleanor Friedberger "False Alphabet City"

Longtime fans have always suspected that Eleanor Friedberger would sound cool singing the phone book or the ABCs, and this tart track for a new film proves it. She sounds sort of like Lou Reed strolling down Sesame Street in a gloriously sarcastic mood.



6. Sun Club "Beauty Meat"

These psychedelic rookies from Baltimore have all the yowl-y, goofy charm of Animal Collective, plus a dash of Arcade Fire gravity, on this tune from their debut LP. We're stoked to hear where they go from here.



7. Eric Church "Mr. Misunderstood"

Country's most thoughtful rebel tells the story of a "weird kid" who grows up to be a rock star. It's a coming-of-age tale worthy of Springsteen, with a nice tip of the hat to Wilco's Jeff Tweedy, whom Church memorably calls "one bad mother." Hell, yeah!

MY LIST



Chris Isaak

Five Classic Torch Songs

"When I think of torch songs, I tend to go to a bygone era," says the crooner, whose LP *First Comes the Night* is out now. "They remind me of that wistful, lonely feeling."

Elvis Presley "Can't Help Falling in Love"

A very romantic song, sung perfectly. There's a richness and a believability in Elvis' voice that nobody else can touch.

Roy Orbison "It's Over"

"Whisper secrets to the wind.... You won't be seeing rainbows anymore." If you're breaking up with somebody, it'll bring a tear to your eye.

Vera Lynn "We'll Meet Again"

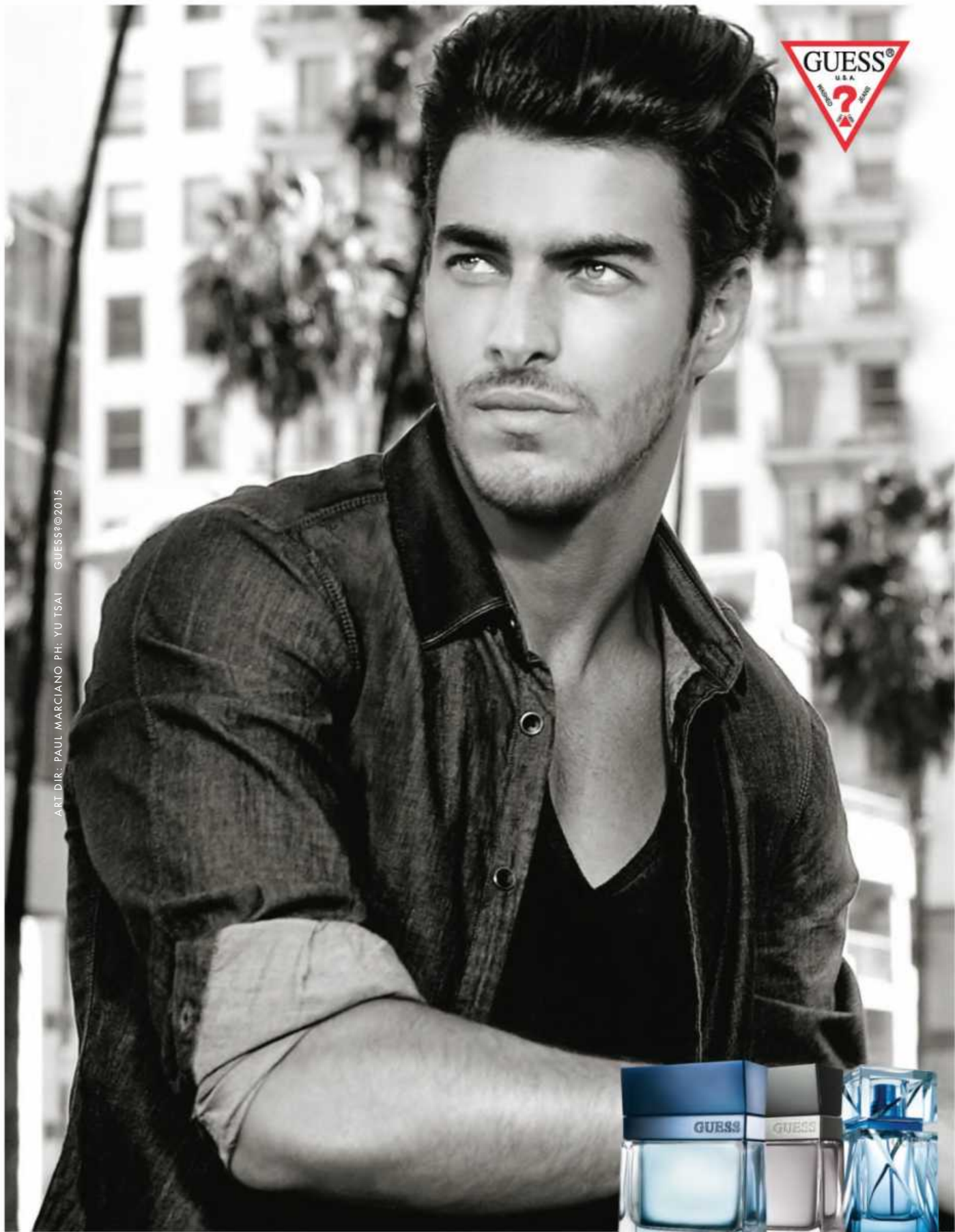
Singers now go for the high notes, but nobody goes for those low baritone notes anymore like this song does.

Bing Crosby "True Love"

What a haiku of a pop song! "Suntanned, wind-blown, honeymooners at last alone." It doesn't take many words to paint the picture.

Labrinth "Jealous"

It starts really quiet and held back, and then it just explodes. People are still writing great love songs.



ART DIR.: PAUL MARCIANO PH: YUTSAI GUESS©2015

ENTER THE SEDUCTIVE WORLD OF GUESS
GUESS.COM/FRAGRANCES

GUESS

THE
ORIGINAL
STEINIE
BACK FOR A
LIMITED TIME

The bottle that started it all is back. But it won't be around forever. So crack open a Miller Lite Steinie bottle and enjoy a round while it's still around.

#ITSMILLERTIME



Rock & Roll

VIVA LA VIDA
Martin onstage
in Central Park
in September

Chris Martin Gets His Groove Back

Coldplay team with
Beyoncé hitmakers
for 'hippie' LP

BY PATRICK DOYLE

A FEW YEARS AGO, Chris Martin was feeling "depressed and overwhelmed." He was in the final stages of his 10-year marriage to Gwyneth Paltrow, and he felt increasingly insecure about the music he was making. "I wasn't looking [Cont. on 14]

MICHAEL KOVAC/FILMMAGIC



**LIFE IN
TECHNICOLOR**
Coldplay shoot
a music video
in India in
September.

COLDPLAY

[Cont. from 13] at things in a healthy way," he says.

Then a friend gave him some books, including *Man's Search for Meaning*, a memoir by psychiatrist and Holocaust survivor Viktor Frankl, and a volume by the 13th-century Persian poet Rumi. Martin says one poem, "The Guest House" – which suggests "inviting in" dark thoughts – helped him get through the period around his divorce. "It kind of changed my life," he says. "It says that everything that happens to you is OK. The idea is to accept what happens to you and not run away from anything – and trust that things will blossom and become colorful."

Martin features the poem in a psychedelic spoken-word section of Coldplay's seventh album, *A Head Full of Dreams* (due December 4th), which is all about his road back from anxiety and heartbreak. "It's all true," Martin says. "It's about love and acceptance and embracing what happens to you. It's quite a hippie album. All of our records were a journey to get to this one."

Martin says that Coldplay's last album, 2014's spare *Ghost Stories*, was a "smaller record" – deliberately. "It frees you up to do whatever you want next – just look at Bruce Springsteen's career." Instead of touring behind *Ghost Stories*, the band stayed in the studio. "I was being sent so many songs from the universe that I said, 'I've got to just keep recording,'" says Martin.

This time, Coldplay ratcheted up the ambition. They started work with Stargate, the Norwegian producers behind hits by Beyoncé and Rihanna. Nothing was off the table. "We wanted to marry all the music that we love, from Drake to Oasis," says Martin. "There was a feeling that we don't have anything to lose. We're very comfortable now with the fact that we're not for everybody."

The producers were demanding. They required demos for every song ("We felt unsigned again," says Martin), and the members had to unanimously agree on which songs to record. "For every song that made it, eight or nine didn't," Martin says.

Coldplay were encouraged to recruit outsiders; Noel Gallagher plays guitar on "Up & Up," and Beyoncé guests on two tracks, including the club stomper "Hymn for the Weekend." (Blue Ivy even gets a backing-vocal credit.) But the most surprising guest of all was Paltrow, who sings backup on the farewell ballad "Everglow." "We just did it in the studio one day," Martin says after a long pause. "It was just a friendly kind of thing."

Martin's favorite moment on the album sounds the least like Coldplay: "X Marks the Spot," where he spits rhymes through a vocoder over drum loops. "Most of the instruments on that song didn't exist when we made our first album," Martin says. "People who want us to be a rock band might be disappointed, but I don't think we really are a rock band."

Last year, Martin sent fans into a panic when he suggested Coldplay's next album would be their last. "I have no idea what's going to happen," he says now. "If one day we make another record, then that's wonderful." Then he clarifies: "We're definitely not splitting up."

The band will tour the U.S. next summer, before bringing its show around the world. "I think it will feature some jazz fusion for six or seven hours," Martin jokes. "I don't know if it's going to be wildly different from what you might imagine – [it will be] all our best songs with some awesome production. If you're a Coldplay fan, you'll love it. And if you don't like us? Don't worry about it. It's OK."

The National's Matt Berninger Learns to Dance

Melancholic singer loosens up with new El Vy project

After more than 10 hard-touring years with the National, Matt Berninger wasn't getting any better at adjusting to life on the road. "I love being a 'rock star,' but there's a lot of it that's just sad," he says. "Staying out after a show is where it really tears you apart."

A few years ago, Berninger found a way to curb his post-gig excesses: Instead of going out, he would head back to his tour bus to work on new music using GarageBand. "It wasn't a creative escape," he says. "This was just a way to keep me from partying too much."

Those songs became El Vy's *Return to the Moon*, a dance-y project with old friend Brent Knopf, of the Portland, Oregon, band Menomena. Taylor Swift is a fan, endorsing the title track on her Instagram list "Songs that will make your life more awesome." "My sister's head exploded," says Knopf.

Five years ago, Knopf sent Berninger a digital folder with hundreds of musical ideas. Berninger slowly



Knopf
(left) and
Berninger

worked his way through them. He found inspiration on a Christmas trip to his childhood home in Cincinnati; "Paul Is Alive" is an ode to the long-closed Jockey Club, where Hüsker Dü, the Smiths and the Cramps all played. Another inspiration: Berninger's six-year-old daughter's obsession with *Grease*. "It started to become an accidental punk-rock musical about Cincinnati in the Eighties," he says.

El Vy just kicked off their first club tour. "I actually find myself dancing," Berninger says. "I'm usually hanging off the microphone like a propped-up scarecrow."

PATRICK DOYLE

FROM TOP: JULIA KENNEDY; DEIRDRE O'CALLAGHAN

JUST ASK

*Add gelato to
my shopping list.*

How is traffic?

*What's on my
calendar today?*

*Set a timer
for 3 minutes.*

*Play my "New
Artists" Playlist.*

*What's the
news today?*

*What's the weather
like this weekend?*

Turn off the lights.

Amazon Echo is designed around your voice. It's hands-free and always on to answer questions, play music, read the news and check sports scores, traffic, the weather and much more. [Just ask.](#)

INTRODUCING
amazon echo



How Elton Rocked Again

For his upcoming album, Elton loosened up and bashed out songs that nod to his mid-Seventies classics

BY ANDY GREENE

ELTON JOHN HAS SPENT THE past few years making mostly reflective and piano-based albums like 2010's Leon Russell collaboration *The Union* and 2013's sparse, somber *The Diving Board*. But earlier this year, he decided to head in a radically different direction. "I was in Honolulu playing a show with my band, and I said to my guitarist Davey [Johnston], 'Go out and buy 12-string guitars,'" he says. "I want to hear lots of them on this record. We're going to make an *up* record."

John asked longtime songwriting partner Bernie Taupin to come up with a batch of joyful, uplifting lyrics. "I think he felt there's enough pain and suffering in the world without my contributing to it," says Taupin. "I wanted to write things that were really hook-driven. It was an adventure we haven't investigated since the loud, brash pop rock of our mid-1970s albums."

Working with producer T Bone Burnett in L.A., John and his touring band banged out the 10 songs on *Wonderful Crazy Night* (due February 5th) in just 17 days. Sticking to his tradition, John entered the studio without so much as glancing at Taupin's lyrics or coming up with a single note of music. He would sit at the piano and read Taupin's words for the first time, and melodies would come pouring out. "It's crazy to watch," says Burnett. "It's the same improvisational courage that Dylan used for *Highway 61 Revisited*."

The process is mysterious even to John. "I haven't analyzed it," he says. "I just think, 'Well, that's the way it works.' I'm very lucky. When it comes, it all comes out." During this process, which takes about an hour or so per song, John's band is listening through headphones from the control room, preparing to flesh out the material. Most tunes on the LP were nailed within two or three takes. "You can overcook the egg," says John. "You can lose energy and the adrenaline, and that's so important."

Wonderful Crazy Night is full of euphoric love songs, with a couple of notable exceptions. "I've Got 2 Wings" tells the story of Elder Utah Smith, a musical preacher who performed all over the South in the 1940s with giant white wings strapped to his back. "I'm a bookworm," says Taupin. "And American musical his-



SPONTANEOUS PRODUCTION

John recording in L.A. in February. He wrote *Wonderful Crazy Night* by improvising songs in the studio.

tory is my basic thing." "A Good Heart" is about raising young children (John has two kids). "Elton and I are radically different characters," says Taupin. "But one thing that ties us together is having young kids, and we both understand the perils, pitfalls and joys of raising them."

John and Taupin were thrilled with the finished product, but executives at Capitol Records, John's label, didn't see commercial potential. They refused to put it out and dropped John from the label. (Capitol declined to comment for this story.) "I was gutted, I have to say," says John. "I knew it was a fucking good record." He ended up

signing with Island Records, which is enthused about the project. "I can ask for no more," John says. "I follow the charts and know everything about this business. I'm not expecting to sell a million records."

Taupin understands many Elton fans simply want to hear the old favorites in concert, rather than a new LP. "There is a nostalgia about our [old] work that can be debilitating," he says. "You can be Billy Joel and stop making records, but if you have that drive and passion, you're going to do it whether it sells or not. It's there inside of you, and if you don't get it out, you're going to explode."

10 VS 1

MACH3® FEELS BETTER THAN
A BRAND NEW DISPOSABLE,*
EVEN AFTER 10 SHAVES



©2014 P&G

Gillette
MACH3
CLOSER SHAVE**
ZERO REDNESS**

* VS. Gillette® Custom Plus®
** It's possible with MACH3®

Gillette
THE BEST A MAN CAN GET™

Allen Toussaint

Remembering the producer, songwriter and piano player who brought New Orleans into the soul and funk era

BY DAVID FRICKE

IN DECEMBER 1971, ROBBIE ROBERTSON of the Band invited Allen Toussaint to Woodstock to work on horn arrangements for the Band's New Year's-week concerts in New York. Disaster struck early: A briefcase with the New Orleans producer's charts was lost during his trip. Then, Toussaint, used to the Crescent City's heat, was struck by an ear infection as he wrote new parts in a cabin surrounded by deep snow.

"But he got through it," says Robertson. "Allen went from this impossible circumstance to making something of great beauty," creating the dynamic brass-party action captured on 1972's *Rock of Ages*, one of rock's greatest live albums.

Toussaint – who died on November 10th at 77 of a heart attack after a Madrid show – "was Mr. Cool," says Robertson fondly. "He never dropped his guard. He was always in his groove."

Toussaint was the most continuously successful triple threat in New Orleans: a producer, songwriter and pianist who sent the roots, blues and euphoria of his hometown's singular R&B around the world on a six-decade run of hits and progressive-soul masterpieces, many of them with local vocal icons like Dr. John, Irma Thomas, Lee Dorsey and Aaron Neville. Toussaint was only 23 when he scored his first Number One single, in 1961, cutting the witty romp "Mother-in-Law" for Ernie K-Doe. By the end of the decade, Toussaint was the driver behind New Orleans-jukebox pillars such as Thomas' "It's Raining," Chris Kenner's "Something You Got" and the Dorsey classics "Holy Cow," "Ya Ya" and "Working in the Coal Mine."

By the Seventies, Toussaint's regional prowess – centered around his own Sea-Saint Studios and his crack session band the Meters – was an open secret, drawing a parade of admirers including the Band, Robert Palmer, Labelle and Paul McCartney, who made most of 1975's *Venus and Mars* at Sea-Saint. "He doesn't just write the songs," Elvis Costello said of Toussaint during the sessions for their 2006 collaboration, *The River in Reverse*. "The guitar, drums, horns are all part of the architecture." Costello said he got "wiped out just trying to keep up with his focus and intensity. It's the closest thing in my life to being around a Duke Ellington."



"He didn't veer off the path": Toussaint in 2006

Born on January 14th, 1938, and raised in the Gert Town section of New Orleans, Toussaint was intently studying Professor Longhair 78s by his early teens and "mimicking everything on the radio" on his family's upright piano, he said in a 2005 interview. By 20, he had recorded and co-written the feisty, down-home instrumentals on his 1958 debut, *The Wild Sound of New Orleans*.

An immaculately tailored man who wore suits even to the studio and conducted his sessions with gentlemanly firmness, Toussaint lost his home and personal music archive in Hurricane Katrina, yet he rebounded with determination, writing, recording and performing at a brisk pace right up to his death. Costello recalled telling Toussaint he was sorry about the songs he had lost, and Toussaint responding simply, "I have to write more."

"It's an incredible journey," Robertson says of Toussaint's legacy, "and it tells you a big story about New Orleans. Whatever he had to offer, he didn't veer off the path."

Crucial Big Easy: Five Toussaint Classics

'Java'

Allen Toussaint, 1958
Trumpeter Al Hirt's 1963 cover went Top Five, but Toussaint's original was early evidence of his ear for melody and buoyant spin on R&B piano.

'Mother-in-Law'

Ernie K-Doe, 1961
This comic masterpiece – a Number One hit – summed up Toussaint's full-service approach in the studio: writer, arranger, producer and down-home pianist.

'Get Out of My Life, Woman'

Lee Dorsey, 1966
An ex-boxer and mechanic, Dorsey had a gritty, plaintive voice that Toussaint used across a decade of classic singles, including this strutting kiss-off.

'Right Place Wrong Time'

Dr. John, 1973
Toussaint produced the Doctor's biggest hit with a crisp flair – including the taut propulsion of the Meters – that defined Seventies Crescent City funk.

'Lady Marmalade'

Labelle, 1974
Toussaint did not write this Creole-streetwalker fantasy, but his '74 production was an erotic fireball of authentic French Quarter noir and proto-disco glitz.

NEVER HIDE



OPAL ERIKA

Made for dreaming.

Style: RUT904

"ADD MORE COLOR TO THE WORLD" #Campaign4Change by Mia.
ray-ban.com

Ray-Ban

GENUINE SINCE 1937

THE PAST YEAR HAS BEEN very good to Brittany Howard. In April, she topped the charts with Alabama Shakes' second album, *Sound & Color*; five months later, her side project, Thunderbitch, released a debut LP that sounds like a rowdy late-night party in the back room of a Memphis bar. Howard recently played a rare show with that group, appearing on a New York club stage astride a motorcycle, costumed in white face paint, dark shades and a black leather jacket. But don't ask her to acknowledge her alter ego – she'll talk about Thunderbitch in the third person only. "I've heard of them," she says with a wicked laugh. "I know they've got this singer that dresses up like a ghost, and I know they play rock & roll music." Howard called from Dublin a few hours before hitting the stage with the Shakes. "This is our final tour of the year, so I'm going to go out with a big bang," she says. "I'm definitely not going to take it easy or be lazy."

This summer you performed "Get Back" with Paul McCartney at Lollapalooza and jammed with Prince at Paisley Park. Who's cooler?

Oh, my God, you know I can't answer that! Paul is a pretty laid-back dude, and really good at making you forget he's a Beatle. I was nervous until I went onstage, and then it was my time to sing, and then the whole thing was over. It was really fun.

And Prince?

Prince is so mysterious. He'll summon you, and you don't know what to talk about, and you're just trying not to freak out. When we were playing onstage, he popped out and shredded the most epic solo. It's a shame nobody could record it.

The Shakes' first album, *Boys & Girls*, got tagged as a throwback, but *Sound & Color* feels pretty different. Were you trying to break free of that label?

With *Boys & Girls*, we just wanted to be a real band. *Sound & Color* was such a different experience, and it was kind of daunting. We had nothing but time and resources, and we could do anything we wanted – but I started thinking, "Maybe I should make a record like the first one, because that's what people liked." I had a lot of trouble doing that. So I just did what I was interested in.

There aren't many successful young rock bands left these days. Does rock feel like a lost art to you?

Nah! There are so many good bands, dude. King Gizzard and the

Q&A



Brittany Howard

The Alabama Shakes singer on playing with McCartney and Prince, her secret identity, and loving Judge Judy

BY SIMON VOZICK-LEVINSON

Lizard Wizard, Promised Land Sound – I don't see myself as any more popular than those bands.

Really? They're not playing big outdoor stages the way you are.

Sometimes it feels odd. I consider us a club band – somebody you go see in a 500-capacity room. Then you get these beautiful theaters, and I feel a little out of place. But everybody gets to see us, so I guess it's all good.

OK. Let's clear something up: Are you sure you're not Thunderbitch? I've never seen you and her in the same room at the same time....

Oh, you just ain't been hanging around! I've been to a few parties she's been at. Looks like a geisha or something to me. I've heard that record a few times. It's all right [laughs].

Thunderbitch reminds me of when David Bowie was Ziggy Stardust. Is it like that?

Yeah, maybe. It reminds me of someone like Meat Loaf. It's bringing back the performance side of rock & roll – what used to be the industry standard. Now it's all about wearing tight jeans and staring at your feet. Gone are the days of capes and motorcycles.

I heard you like to haunt record shops. What's the last great album you found in a used-record bin?

Journey in Satchidananda, by Alice Coltrane. It's far-out – it's not songs, just free expression. That's what music can be if you just let yourself go, and I appreciate that.

Before the Shakes took off, you worked for the U.S. Postal Service. Is there anything that you miss about that job?

Oh, God, I don't miss it at all. I have so much respect for mail carriers – that's such a hard job. I once delivered mail in a tornado. I looked up in the sky, saw these swirling clouds and started delivering the mail extra-fast so I could get back to safety. I could see the tornado forming. Then I got a flat tire. I went up to a stranger's house and said, "I'm your mail carrier, can I come inside? There's a tornado!"

Your bandmates got you a Judge Judy birthday cake a few weeks ago. What's that about?

They know I love Judge Judy. I watch her show anytime it's on – that's my *Days of Our Lives*. She's so smart, and she doesn't take shit from anybody.

Ever thought about getting into a small-claims dispute just to get on her show?

I don't know if I'm ready. I might break down in tears. She'd be like, "Why are you smiling so much?" And what am I supposed to say?



Two reasons to make the nice list.

Get iPad mini 2 for \$99⁹⁹
when you buy any iPhone on AT&T Next.SM

iPad mini 2 req's 2-yr agmt. Wireless svc. is req'd on both devices & is add'l.



1.866.MOBILITY | att.com/iPadmini2bundle | Visit a Store

iPad mini 2 Offer: Limited-time Offer (ends 12/31/15 in Puerto Rico). Select locations only. **iPhone:** Must buy any iPhone via an AT&T NextSM agmt w/qual. monthly wireless svc. plan (voice & data). **AT&T Next:** Req's elig. installment agmt & svc. **If svc. is cancelled, remaining installment agmt balance is due.** Down payment may be req'd. **Tax due at sale.** Visit att.com/next for details. **iPad:** Must buy an iPad mini 2 (16 GB only) for \$99.99 via a new 2-yr wireless agmt w/qual. data plan (min. \$14.99/mo. DataConnect plan or min. \$30/mo. on a new Mobile Share ValueSM plan. If you have Mobile Share Value you can add the tablet for an add'l \$10/mo.). **Activ./Upgrade Fee:** Up to \$45 on tablet & \$15 on iPhone. No upgrade fee for line w/smartphone purchased on AT&T Next prior to 8/1/15. Waiver of fee subject to change. **Deposit:** May apply per line. **Early Termination Fee** (att.com/equipmentETF): After 14 days, up to \$150 on iPad. **Bundle:** Items must be purchased together & at select locations must be in stock. **Online Restrictions:** If upgrading to a new smartphone on att.com, bundle pricing is not available. Please visit a store. **Discounts:** Bundle pricing may not be combinable w/other credits, discounts & offers. **Device Limits/Exclusions:** Purch. limit & limit on total no. of financed devices per wireless acct may apply. Smartphone price may vary by location. **Return/Restocking:** If smartphone is returned w/in 14 days w/o tablet, \$199.99 will be owed. If device is opened, restocking fees of up to \$35 on iPhone & 10% of iPad purch. price also apply. **Gen. Wireless Svc Terms: Subject to Wireless Customer Agmt.** Credit approval req'd. Other fees & a deposit may apply. Taxes, fees, overage, monthly & other charges & restr's apply. **Pricing, terms & restr's subject to change and may be modified or terminated at any time without notice.** Coverage & svc. not avail. everywhere. Other restr's apply & may result in svc. termination. See store or att.com/iPadmini2bundle for more offer details. ©2015 AT&T Intellectual Property. All rights reserved. AT&T and the Globe logo are registered trademarks of AT&T Intellectual Property. All other marks are the property of their respective owners. Apple, the Apple logo, and iPhone are trademarks of Apple Inc., registered in the U.S. and other countries.

LIFE
HAPPENS
IN



Random Notes



Run, Alicia, Run

Alicia Keys had already run one marathon in her life - in 2007, in Greece - and swore never again. So when her brother urged her to join him in the New York City Marathon, "My first instinct was 'hell no,'" said Keys, "but [then] I thought, 'Why not?'" As part of her training, Keys meditated, listened to Eckhart Tolle books and ran for about an hour a day. She finished in a respectable five hours, 50 minutes: "What got me through was seeing incredible runners with prosthetic legs or a man leading a blind runner. This was the surge of strength I needed!"



Patti's Biggest Fan

Bono welcomed one of his heroes, Patti Smith, at London's O2 Arena to deliver a joyous "People Have the Power." "We wouldn't be in this band without [her]," said Bono of Smith, who kicked off a tour celebrating *Horses*' 40th anniversary.

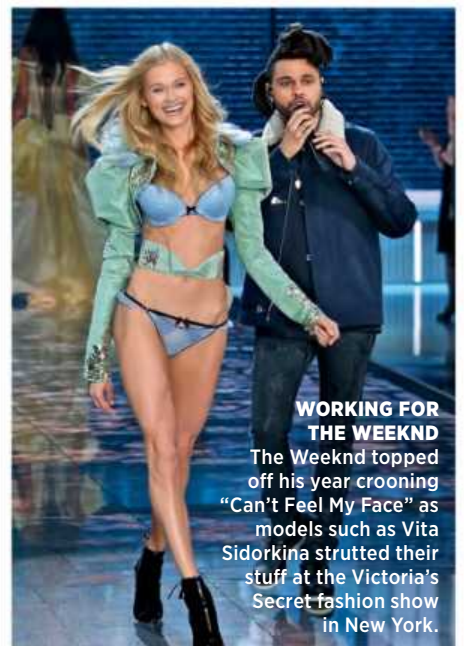


BIRTHDAY BROS Anthony Kiedis celebrated his 53rd birthday with Flea, watching his beloved L.A. Lakers take on the Dallas Mavericks. The Lakers lost, but the good news is that the Chili Peppers' 11th album should be ready next year.



COURTSIDE BLING

Drake cracked up at an L.A. Clippers game when his smash "Hotline Bling" started playing - then broke out some dance moves in his seat.



WORKING FOR THE WEEKND

The Weeknd topped off his year crooning "Can't Feel My Face" as models such as Vita Sidorkina strutted their stuff at the Victoria's Secret fashion show in New York.

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT: MICHAEL STEWART/GETTY IMAGES; DAVID PEARSON/REX SHUTTERSTOCK; GREGORY PAGE/REX SHUTTERSTOCK; NOEL VASQUEZ/GC IMAGES/GETTY IMAGES; WENN.COM



Proving he's not a total hippie yet, John Mayer took a break from his Dead & Co. shows to shop on Manhattan's 5th Avenue. "It's been really intense," he says of the tour.



During his New York trip, Lesh spared some cash for a fan who needed a miracle.

Day Off for the Dead

The same week the Dead & Co. with John Mayer played Madison Square Garden, Phil Lesh did three shows at New York's Capitol Theater, and found time for some shopping in Soho. Lesh also announced he had undergone successful surgery for bladder cancer in October. "I am very fortunate," he said.

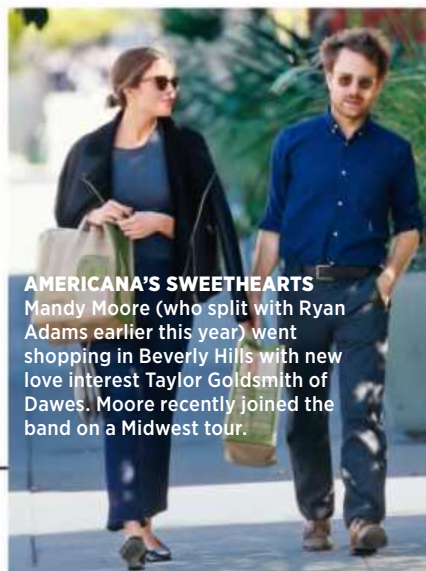
Billy and the Kid

Alexa Ray Joel performed for two weeks at New York's Café Carlyle. On hand to help her celebrate was proud father Billy Joel, whose monthly residency down the street at Madison Square Garden is approaching its second year. "Pop's in da house," Alexa Ray tweeted, adding that she heard Billy "whistling along quietly" to her set, which includes covers of her dad's "New York State of Mind" and Ray Charles' "I Got a Woman."



Lemmy: Ramblin' Gamblin' Man

What do speed-metal gods do to cool down after a trans-Atlantic flight? If you're Lemmy Kilmister, right after you land in London, you make a beeline for the airport slot machines. Motörhead were in town to kick off the European leg of their 40th-anniversary tour. "I'm very pleased that we made 40," says Kilmister. "It's a big number." Early next year, the band will head back into the studio. "You don't have to wait very long for a Motörhead album," he says. "I'll keep making records until I drop."



AMERICANA'S SWEETHEARTS Mandy Moore (who split with Ryan Adams earlier this year) went shopping in Beverly Hills with new love interest Taylor Goldsmith of Dawes. Moore recently joined the band on a Midwest tour.



SILVIO RETURNS Steve Van Zandt reunited with *Sopranos* alumni for a one-off charity play. "It's easier to face 50,000 people in a stadium," he says of his theater debut.

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT: OPAOPA/SPLASH NEWS; © CARMEN VALDES/PHOTO IMAGE PRESS/SPLASH NEWS; REX SHUTTERSTOCK; BOBBY BANK/WIREIMAGE; BRUCE/FAMELYNET PICTURES; ADAM NEMSER/STARTRAKSPHOTO.COM

WE PUT ON SOME EXTRA OUNCES THIS HOLIDAY.

PATRÓN TEQUILA ALREADY MAKES THE PERFECT HOLIDAY GIFT. WITH THIS LIMITED-EDITION, FIRST-EVER ONE-LITER BOTTLE ADORNED WITH AN INTRICATE PEWTER BEE DESIGN, THERE'S JUST MORE TO LOVE.



SIMPLY PERFECT.

patrontequila.com/limited



Not your Father's Flask.

The portable, rechargeable iBT32 Bluetooth SoundFlask™ features a speakerphone and lasts 11+ hours on a full charge.

iHome.

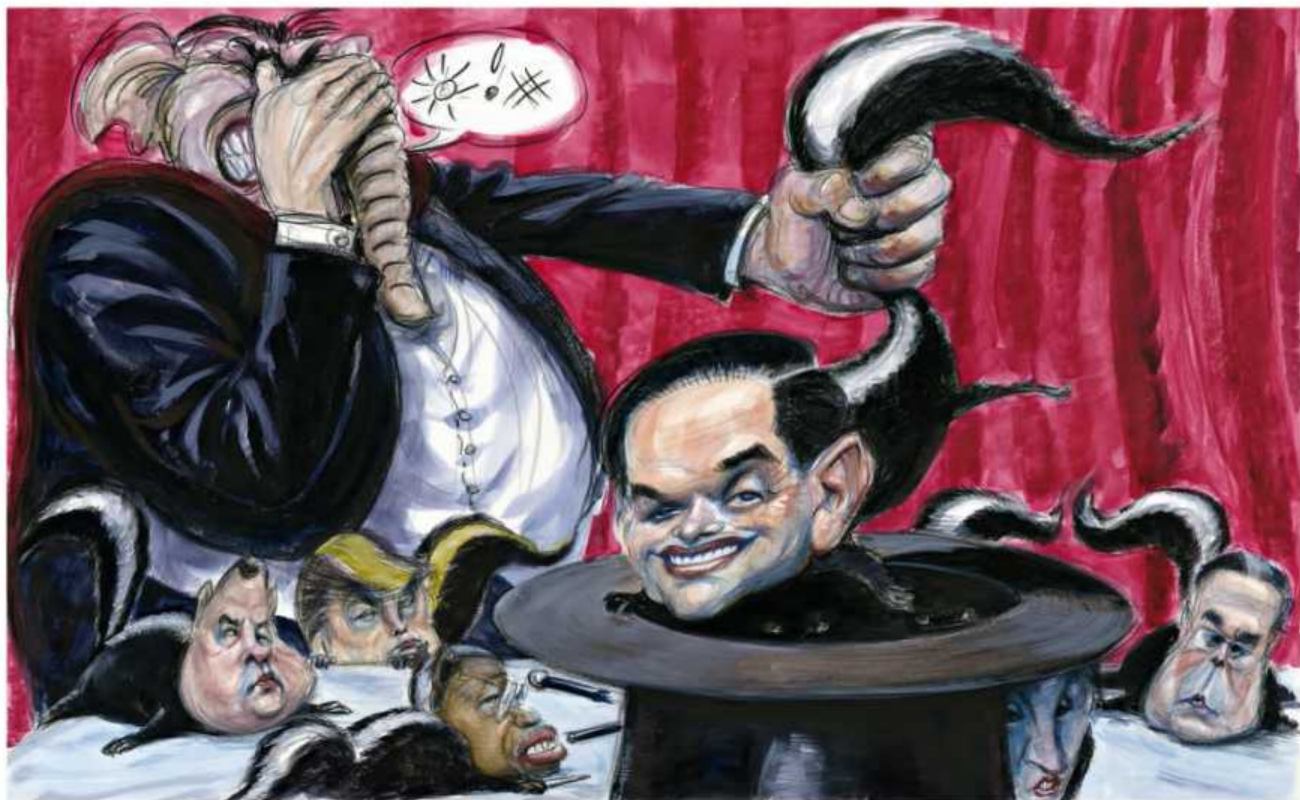


ihome.com

★★★ SPECIAL OFFER FOR ROLLING STONE READERS ★★★
RECEIVE **30% OFF** THE SOUNDFLASK™ WITH THE CODE **RS30**



iHome and SoundFlask are registered trademarks of SDI Technologies, Inc. Bluetooth is a registered trademark of Bluetooth SIG, Inc. All other marks are trademarks of their respective owners.
Proudly Designed and Engineered in the USA



THE CLOWN CAR ROLLS ON

On the campaign trail with the most dishonest, bumbling and underqualified pack of presidential candidates in history

★ By Matt Taibbi ★

NOT ONE OF THEM CAN WIN, but one must. That's the paradox of the race for the 2016 Republican presidential nomination, fast becoming the signature event in the history of black comedy.

Conventional wisdom says that with the primaries and caucuses rapidly approaching, front-running nuts Donald Trump and Dr. Ben Carson must soon give way to the "real" candidates. But behind Trump and Carson is just more abyss. As I found out on a recent trip to New Hampshire, the rest of the field is either just as crazy or as dangerous as the current poll leaders, or too bumbling to win.

Disaster could be averted if Americans on both the left and the right suddenly decide to be more mature about this, neither backing obvious mental incompetents, nor snickering about those who do. But that doesn't seem probable.

Instead, HashtagClownCar will almost certainly continue to be the most darkly ridiculous political story since Henry II

of Champagne, the 12th-century king of Jerusalem, plunged to his death after falling out of a window with a dwarf.

JUST AFTER NOON, WEDNESDAY, November 4th. I'm in Hollis, New Hampshire, a little town not far from the Massachusetts border.

The Hollis pharmacy is owned by Vahrij Manoukian, a Lebanese immigrant who is the former chairman of the Hillsborough County Republican Committee. If you come into his establishment looking for aspirin, you have to first survive dozens of pictures of the cannonball-shaped businessman glad-handing past and present GOP hopefuls like Newt Gingrich, Rick Santorum and Rudy Giuliani.

Primary season is about who most successfully kisses the asses of such local burghers, and the big test in Hollis today is going to be taken by onetime presumptive front-runner Jeb Bush.

Despite its ideological decorative scheme, the Manoukian pharmacy has some charming small-town quirks you

wouldn't find in a CVS. There's a section of beautiful handmade wooden toys, for instance. There's also a pair of talkative parrots named Buddy and Willy perched near the cash registers.

While waiting for the candidate to arrive, I try to make conversation.

"Who are you voting for this year?"

"Hello," says Willy.

"Is Jeb Bush going to win?"

"Rooww!" the bird screeches, recoiling a little.

It seems like a "no." Bush comes in a moment later and immediately hears the birds squawking. A tall man, he smiles and cranes his head over the crowd in their direction.

"Whose dog is that?" he cracks.

Technically, that is the correct comic response, but the room barely hears him. For Bush, Campaign 2016 has been a very tough crowd.

It's hard to recall now, but a year ago, it appeared likely that Bush would be the Republican nominee. He had a lead in polls, and some Beltway geniuses believed

Republican voters would favor “more moderate choices” in 2016, pushing names like Mitt Romney, Chris Christie and this reportedly “smarter” Bush brother to the top of the list.

Moreover, the Bush campaign was supposed to be a milestone in the history of post-*Citizens United* aristocratic scale-tipping. The infamous 2010 Supreme Court case that deregulated political fundraising birthed a monster called the Super PAC, also known as the “independent-expenditure-only committee.” This new form of slush fund could receive unlimited sums from corporations, billionaires and whomever else, provided it didn’t coordinate with an active presidential campaign.

perate attempt to lay out a cogent position on his brother’s invasion of Iraq.

During a remarkable five days of grasping and incoherent answers, in which Bush was both for and against the invasion multiple times, it became clear that this candidate: (a) doesn’t understand the meaning of the phrase “knowing what we know now,” and (b) doesn’t know how to cut his losses and shut up when things go bad. People began to wonder out loud if he really was the smarter brother.

The real disaster was the second debate, when he decided to go after the other “plausible” establishment candidate, Florida Sen. Marco Rubio, and ended up getting beaten to gristle onstage. He was reduced after that episode to admitting,

“We need to create a society,” he says, “where we create a safety net for people, and then we say, ‘Go dream the biggest possible dreams.’”

I look around. Did a Republican candidate just try to sell a crowd full of New Hampshire conservatives on a government safety net?

He has one near-excellent moment, when answering a question about Syria and Russia. “I don’t want to sound bellicose,” he says. (Why not? This is the Republican race.) “But my personal opinion is, we’re the United States of f— of America. They should be more worried about us than we are about them.”

Bush could have become an instant YouTube sensation if he’d completed his

“BUSH DOESN’T WANT IT BADLY ENOUGH TO BE THE KIND OF EFFORTLESS SOCIOPATHIC LIAR YOU NEED TO BE TO MAKE IT THROUGH THIS PART OF THE PROCESS.”

Decrying the “no-suspense primary” and insisting, “It’s nobody’s turn,” Bush announced his candidacy on June 15th. But he and his Super PAC, Right to Rise, had been raising money all year long.

Fifteen days after his announcement, on July 1st, the books closed on the first six months of Right to Rise’s backroom cash-hoovering. Bush was already sitting atop an astonishing \$103 million. That was about 10 times the amount of the next-biggest GOP Super PAC, Christie’s America Leads fund.

A hundred million bucks, a name that is American royalty, and the apparent backing of the smoke-filled room. What could go wrong?

Only everything! Before his official announcement even, Bush iceberged his candidacy when he crisscrossed the country in mid-May tying his face in knots in a des-

perate attempt to lay out a cogent position on his brother’s invasion of Iraq.

The operating theory of the Bush campaign is that there’s still a massive pot of donor cash, endorsements and support the Republican Party elders must throw to someone. But can Bush remake his candidacy in time to re-establish himself as a plausible vessel for all of that largesse?

In Hollis, there is little evidence of a remade Bush candidacy. His stump presentation is surprisingly half-assed. He tries to get over with lines like, “We’ve had a divider-in-chief – we need a commander-in-chief,” which are so plainly canned that they barely register, even with a crowd jacked up for any put-down of Obama.

Worse, he issues one of the odder descriptions of the American dream you’ll ever hear from a Republican.

thought and said, “We’re the United States of Fucking America,” but he couldn’t do it. That’s just not who he is.

Who is he? Minus the family imperative, Bush is easily imagined as a laid-back commercial lawyer in some Florida exurb, the kind of guy who can crack dirty jokes while he runs a meeting about a new mixed-use development outside Tallahassee.

He doesn’t seem at all like a power-crazed, delusionally self-worshipping lunatic, and that’s basically his problem. He doesn’t want this badly enough to be the kind of effortless sociopathic liar you need to be to make it through this part of the process.

Toward the end of his speech, for instance, the pharmacist Manoukian puts the Jebster on the spot. The local apothecary has a proposal he’s been trying to

FROM LEFT: PABLO MARTINEZ MONSIVAIS/AP IMAGES; COURTESY OF IMPRIMIS; RON EDMONDS/AP IMAGES; ADRIAN WYLD/THE CANADIAN PRESS/AP IMAGES; EDUARDO VERDUGO/AP IMAGES; UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI; GUINNESS

THREAT ASSESSMENT: GOOD, THE BAD AND THE SCARY



WITH US

Obama rejects **Keystone XL** pipeline.

Rival firm to sell alternative to Pharma Bro’s HIV drug for **\$1/pill**.

George H.W. Bush blasts **“iron ass” Cheney**, “arrogant” Rumsfeld for tanking W’s presidency.

Canada’s prime minister staffs a **gender-balanced** Cabinet “because it’s 2015.”

Mexico’s supreme court legalizes personal pot use.

Missouri football team’s black athletes strike to protest racism on campus.

Guinness goes **vegan**.

make state law that would give drug dealers special status.

"They would be like child molesters, always being registered," he says. He wheezes excitedly as he details his plan to strip dealers of all social services. I don't think the plan involves using hot irons to brand the candidate in a town hall to endorse a plan for summary executions of atheists or foreigners or whoever happens to be on the outs that election cycle.

The reporters all flash bored looks at one another. People like Manoukian are recurring figures on the campaign trail, particularly on the Republican side. There's always some local Junior Anti-Sex League chief who asks the candidate in a town hall to endorse a plan for summary executions of atheists or foreigners or whoever happens to be on the outs that election cycle.

Bush absorbs the pharmacist's question and immediately launches into a speech about the dangers of addiction – to prescription drugs! Through the din of screeching parrots, Bush talks, movingly, I think, about his "precious daughter" Noelle's problems with prescription pills.

"There are some bad actors," he says. "You have people who overprescribe, people who are pharmacy shopping, doctor shopping..."

Everything he just said is true, but Manoukian, as he listens to this diatribe, looks like someone has hit him with a halibut. Does Bush know he's talking to a pharmacist?

Trump would have killed a moment like this, delivering some dog-whistle-ready line about gathering up all the dealers by their hoodies and shooting them into space with all of the child molesters. Who cares if it makes sense? This is the Clown Car.

But Bush has no feel for audience. He doesn't know how to play down to a mob. Nor does he realize how absurd he sounds when a Lucky Spermer scion like himself tries to talk about his "small-business" experience (his past three "jobs" were all lucrative gigs with giant companies that had

done business with Florida when he was governor). Despite all this, Bush doesn't seem crazy, nor even like a particularly disgusting person by presidential-campaign standards, which probably disqualifies him from this race.

Lynn Cowan, a Hollis resident, agrees. She thinks Bush comes across as a reasonable guy, but she also thinks his reasonableness is probably crippling in the current political environment.

"It's to his detriment," she says. "And it's sad that we've reached a point where these politicians can't even be on the level."

A FEW HOURS LATER, NASHUA, New Hampshire. Rubio strides onstage to a roaring young crowd at the Dion Center of Rivier University. He is like a cross of Joel Osteen and Bobby Kennedy, jacketless with a red tie and shirtsleeves. He is short but prickly good-looking, all hair and teeth and self-confidence. He's the kind of guy that no group of men wants to go to a bar with, both because he spoils the odds and because he seems like kind of an asshole generally.

There are young women in the crowd looking up at him adoringly, like a Beatle. It's a sight one doesn't often see in presidential politics, but even more seldom on the Republican side, where most candidates are either 500 years old or belong to religions barring nonprocreative use of the wiener. Rubio plainly enjoys being an exception to the rule.

His speech is a total nothingburger, full of worn clichés about America being an "exceptional country," where people are nonetheless living "paycheck to paycheck" and wondering if "achieving [the American dream] is still possible."

But he's so slick, he could probably sell a handful of cars at every speech. His main pitch is his Inspirational Personal Tale™. As he's told it, he's the son of refugees from

Fidel Castro's Cuba (actually, they left Cuba before Castro, but whatever) who rose from nothing to reach the U.S. Senate, where he was eventually able to draw a \$170,000 paycheck despite a brilliant *Office Space*-style decision to not quit, exactly, but simply not go to work anymore. Which is pretty sweet.

Actually, that last bit isn't openly part of his stump speech. But if you listen hard enough, you can hear it. Rubio has announced that he isn't going to run for reelection to the Senate, where he recently cast his first vote in 26 days and spoke for the first time in 41. He said he didn't hate the work but was "frustrated" ("He hates it," a friend more bluntly told *The Washington Post*).

In addition to the stories about laying down in the Senate, old tales about Rubio's use of an American Express card given to him by the Republican Party when he was in the Florida House began swirling again. The stories are complex, but the upshot is that Rubio once used party credit cards to spend \$10,000 on a family vacation, \$3,800 on home flooring, \$1,700 on a Vegas vacation and thousands more on countless other absurdities.

Couple those tales with the troubling stories about his financial problems – the *Times* learned that he cashed in a retirement account and blew \$80,000 on a speedboat he probably couldn't afford – and the subtext with Rubio is that he is probably both remaining in the Senate and running for president, at least partly, for the money.

A debt addict with a burgeoning Imelda Marcos shopping complex was pretty much the only thing missing from the top of this GOP field. Yet he looks like the party's next attempt at an Inevitable Candidate.

It's easy to see why. Rubio storms through his stump speech in Nashua, blasting our outdated infrastructure with

FROM LEFT: YIN BOGU/XINHUA/GETTY IMAGES; CDC; SCOTT BOEHM/AP IMAGES; STEVE POPE/GETTY IMAGES; SELIMAN AL-OTEIFI/AP/GETTY IMAGES; EVANTRAVELS/SHUTTERSTOCK; DIGITALLY ALTERED BY "ROLLING STONE"; © BETTMANN/CORBIS; COURTESY OF CLIMATE CENTRAL



perfect timing and waves of soaring rhetoric. We have outdated policies in this country, he says. "We have a retirement system designed in the 1930s. We have an immigration and higher-education system designed in the 1950s. Anti-poverty programs designed in the 1960s. Energy policies designed from the 1970s. Tax policies from the Eighties and Nineties..."

The punchline is something about needing to burn it all to the ground and remake everything into a new conservative Eden for the 21st century. "An economic renaissance, unlike anything that's ever happened," he gushes.

I raise an eyebrow. Any vet of this process will feel, upon seeing Rubio in person, a disturbance in the campaign-trail force. He checks all the boxes of what the Beltway kingmakers look for in a political marketing phenomenon: young, ethnic, good-looking, capable of working a room like a pro and able to lean hard on an inspirational bio while eschewing policy specifics.

A bitter Bush recently pegged Rubio as a Republican version of Obama, a compari-

and a haranguing bore with the face of a dogcatcher. He exactly fits the profile of what party insiders used to call an "exciting" candidate.

At the moment, though, he's a grumpy sideshow to Trump and Carson whose main accomplishment is that he hogged the most time in the fourth debate (and also became the first non-Trump candidate to be booed). Kasich in person seems like a man ready to physically implode from bitterness at the thought that his carefully laid scheme for power might be undone by a flatulent novelty act like Trump.

Surrounded by reporters in the Concord state offices, Kasich seethes again about the tenor of the race. "I think there are some really goofy ideas out there," he says.

I've driven to Concord specifically for this moment. I want to ask Kasich if maybe this is the wrong time in American history for someone pushing cold realism as a platform. It's a softball - I think he might enjoy expounding upon the issue of America's newfound fascination with "goofy" politicians.

a tale of evil liberal women's-health workers ripping out the brains of live babies rated a few very good days of what they call "earned media," i.e., press you don't have to pay for.

Of course, Fiorina's claim that she had actually seen a video of someone trying to harvest the brain of a fetus with its legs kicking turned out to be false. Her story matched up vaguely with one video that included a description of a fetus having its brain removed, but no such footage existed, as fact-checkers immediately determined.

Called on her fib by Fox's Chris Wallace, Fiorina doubled down.

"I've seen the footage," she insisted. "And I find it amazing, actually, that all these supposed fact-checkers in the mainstream media claim this doesn't exist."

The week after that appearance with Wallace on *Fox News Sunday* was her best week in the polls, as she reached as high as 11 percent in some, tying for third with Rubio. She'd clued in to the same insight that drove the early success of Trump: that in the reality-show format of the 2016

RUBIO'S MAIN PITCH IS HIS INSPIRATIONAL PERSONAL TALE. HE SELLS A STRIDENT, BRIGHT-EYED DICKISHNESS THAT'S TAILOR-MADE FOR ROPING IN CONSERVATIVES.

son neither Rubio nor many Democrats will like, but it has a lot of truth to it. The main difference, apart from the policy inverses, is in tone. 2008 Obama sold tolerance and genial intellectualism, perfect for roping in armchair liberals. Rubio sells a kind of strident, bright-eyed dickishness that in any other year would seem tailor-made for roping in conservatives.

But this isn't any year. It isn't just our energy, education and anti-poverty systems that are outdated. So is our tradition of campaign journalism, which, going back to the days of Nixon, trains reporters to imagine that the winner is probably the slickest Washington-crafted liar, not some loon with a reality show.

But in 2016, who voters like and who the punditocracy thinks they'll swallow are continuing to be two very different things. In the Clown Car era, if reporters think you're hot stuff, that's probably a red flag.

CONCORD, NEW HAMPSHIRE, THE Secretary of State's office, morning of November 6th. I'm waiting to see former Ohio Gov. John Kasich officially register as a candidate for the New Hampshire primary.

In another election, Kasich might be a serious contender, being as he is from Ohio, a former Lehman Brothers stooge

"The people with the goofiest ideas are at the top of the polls," I say. "Do you think maybe being the same candidate in this race is disqualifying?"

Kasich doesn't smile. Instead, he shoots me a look like I'd just dented his Mercedes. "No," he hisses.

THE CANDIDACY OF CARLY FIORINA, with its wild highs and lows, has exposed the bizarre nature of this primary season. She was in Nowheresville until midsummer, when she attracted the notice of Trump. At the time, reveling atop the polls in full pig glory, Trump told *ROLLING STONE* that America wouldn't be able to take looking at Fiorina's face for a whole presidency. In the second debate, Fiorina responded, "I think women all over this country heard very clearly what Mr. Trump said."

Fiorina in the same debate implored Hillary Clinton and Obama to watch Planned Parenthood at work. "Watch these tapes," she said, staring hypnotically into the screen like a Kreskin or a Kashpirovsky. "Watch a fully formed fetus on the table, its heart beating, its legs kicking while someone says, 'We have to keep it alive to harvest its brain.'"

It was a brilliantly macabre performance, and, according to some, it won her the debate. Even by this race's standards,

race, all press attention is positive, and nobody particularly cares if you lie, so long as you're entertaining.

America dug Fiorina when she was a John Carpenter movie about bloodthirsty feminists harvesting baby brains. But when she talked about anything else, they were bored stiff.

On a Thursday night in Newport, New Hampshire, Fiorina is laboring through her monotone life story of corporate promotions and "solving problems." It's like watching a thermometer move. "Wouldn't it be helpful," she asks, "to reduce the 73,000-page tax code to three pages?"

I chuckle. Even by Clown Car standards, a three-page federal tax code is a hilarious ploy, right up there with Carson's 10-percent biblical tithe and a giant wall across the Central American isthmus. On the way out of the event, a few reporters are joking about it. "Three pages is good," one deadpans. "But I'd like to see her fit it on the label of a really nice local IPA."

Polls have suggested that Fiorina, Carson and Trump were all fighting over the same finite slice of Lunatic Pie (the Beltway press euphemistically calls it the "outsider vote"), a demographic that by late September comprised just north of half of expected Republican voters. That means that for Fiorina to rise, Trump or Carson must fall.

The problem is that after a late-summer swoon, Trump's support has stabilized. And Carson has taken campaign lunacy to places that a three-page tax code couldn't dent. Forget about winning a primary: Carson won the Internet.

Traditionally, we in the political media have always been able to finish off candidates once they start bleeding. The pol caught sending dick pics to strangers, lying about nannies, snuggling models on powerboats, concealing secret treatments for "exhaustion," or doing anything else unforgivably weird is harangued until he or she disintegrates. The bullying is considered a sacred tribal rite among the Beltway press, and it's never not worked.

Until this year. Trump should have been finished off half a dozen times – after the John-McCain-was-a-wuss-forgetting-captured line, after the "blood coming out of her wherever" bit, after the "Mexicans are rapists" episode, etc.

But we don't finish them off anymore. We just keep the cameras rolling. The ratings stay high, and the voters don't abandon their candidates – they just tune in to hate us media smart-asses more.

Enter Ben Carson. Reporters early on in the summer thought he was a Jerzy Kosiński character, a nutty doctor who had maybe gotten lost on the way to a surgical convention and accidentally entered a presidential race. In the first debate, he looked like an amnesiac who might at any moment reach into his pocket, find a talisman reminding him of his true identity, and walk offstage.

Then he started saying stuff. First there was that thing about using drones on immigrants crossing the border. Then people began picking apart old stories he'd told, like that a Yale professor in a psych class called "Perceptions 301" had once given him \$10 for being honest (nobody remembers that class), or that he'd helped hide frightened white high school students in a lab in Detroit during race riots (nobody remembers that, either).

Everyone who's ever been to an American megachurch recognizes the guy who overdoes the "before" portion of his evangelical testimony, telling tall tales about running with biker gangs or participating in coke orgies (this is always taking place somewhere like Lubbock or suburban Topeka) before discovering Jesus.

As some ex-evangelicals have pointed out, Carson fits this model. He claims in his autobiography, *Gifted Hands*, that he once tried to stab someone named "Bob," failing only because he accidentally hit a

belt buckle. Also, he told reporters decades ago that as a youth he attacked people with "bats and bricks" and hammers. The hammer victim was apparently his mother.

In *Gifted Hands*, none of this stuff seems any more real than the book's other inspirational passages, like the one where as a college student he prays to God about being broke and gets immediate relief as he walks across campus. "A \$10 bill lay crumpled on the ground in front of me," he wrote (the magical \$10 bill is a recurring character in Carsonia).

Soon, reporters were interviewing childhood friends, who were revealing what is clear if you read between the lines of Carson's book, which is that he was



'SURVIVOR': GOP EDITION

Rubio, Trump and Carson at the third debate. Trump's and Carson's continuing presence has turned the race into a reality show.

probably never anything but a nerd with an overheated imagination. "He was skinny and unremarkable," a classmate named Robert Collier told CNN. "I remember him having a pocket saver."

Carson lashed out at reporters for doubting his inspirational tale of a homicidal, knife-wielding madman turned convivial brain surgeon. "I would say to the people of America: Do you think I'm a pathological liar like CNN does?" he said.

This bizarre state of affairs led to stories in the straight press that were indistinguishable from *Onion* fare. BEN CARSON DEFENDS HIMSELF AGAINST ALLEGATIONS THAT HE NEVER ATTEMPTED TO MURDER A CHILD, wrote *New York* magazine, in perhaps the single funniest headline presidential politics has ever seen.

Next, BuzzFeed reporters unearthed an old speech of Carson's in which he outlined a gorgeously demented theory about the

Egyptian pyramids: They were not tombs for Pharaohs, but rather had been built by the biblical Joseph to store grain. The latter idea he accepted after discarding the obvious space-alien explanation.

"Various scientists have said, 'Well, you know there were alien beings that came down and they have special knowledge,'" he said. "[But] it doesn't require an alien being when God is with you."

Scientists were quick to point out all sorts of issues, like the pyramids not really being hollow and therefore really sucky places to store grain. Then there was the fact that the Egyptians wrote down what the pyramids were for in, well, writing.

The pyramid story sent the Internet, which specializes in nothing if not instant mockery, into overdrive. Carson quickly became perhaps the single funniest thing on Earth. The *Wrap* ran a piece about Carson being "mocked mercilessly" on social media, where other "Carson theories" quickly developed: that the Eiffel Tower was for storing French bread, brains were actually a fruit, and peanut butter can be used as spermicide, etc. The whole world was in on it. It was epic.

Poor Trump now had to concede that someone else in the race was even more ridiculous and unhinged than he was. The campaign's previously unrivaled carnival expert/circus Hitler was reduced to sounding like George Will as he complained somberly – and ungrammatically – about the attention the mad doctor was stealing away from him.

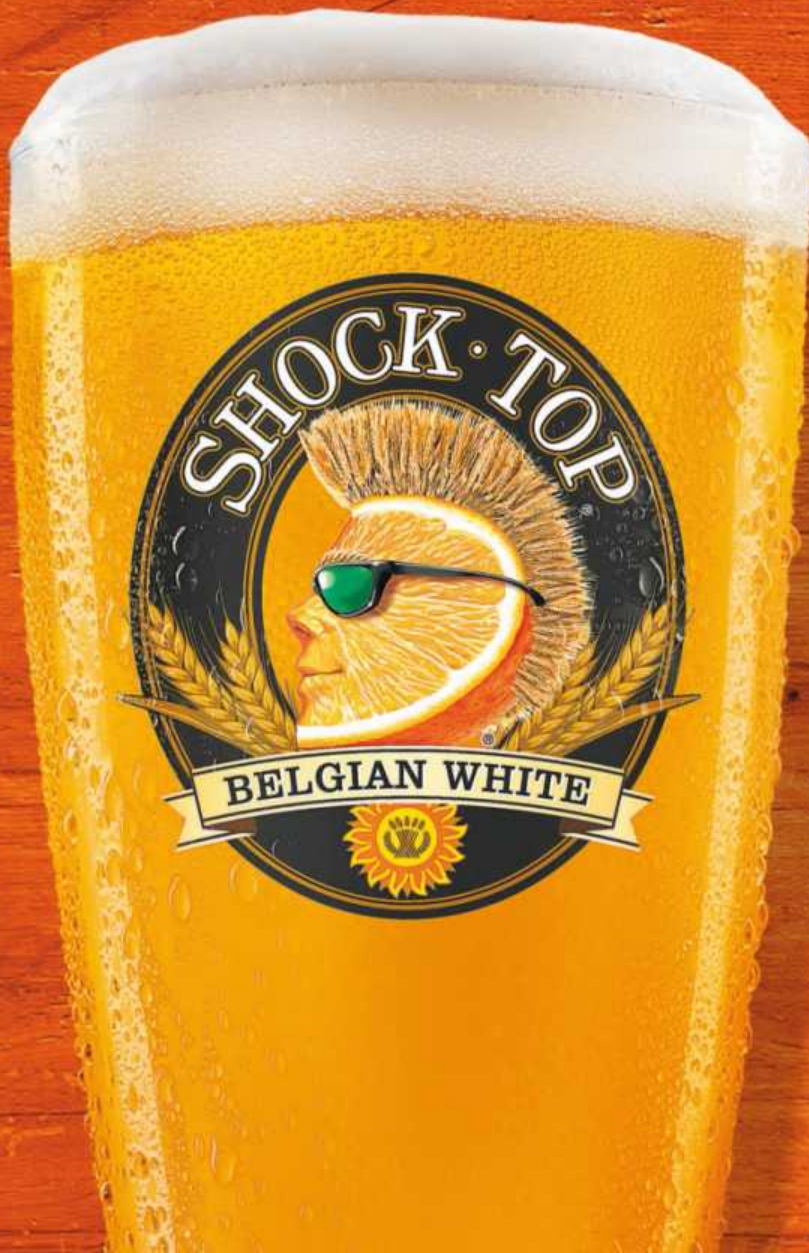
"With Ben Carson wanting to hit his mother on head with a hammer, stab [sic] a friend and Pyramids built for grain storage," Trump tweeted sadly, "don't people get it?"

By the end of the first week of November, Carson did not experience, upon close scrutiny, an instant plunge in the polls, as previous front-runners-for-a-day like Rick Perry or Herman Cain had in years past. Instead, he remained atop the polls with Trump, having successfully convinced his followers that the media flaps were just liberal hazing of a black man who threatened leftist stereotypes. And so the beginning of the long-awaited "real race" stalled still another week.

Trump commented during a rally in Illinois: "You can say anything about anybody, and their poll numbers go up. This is the only election in history where it's better off if you stabbed somebody. What are we coming to?"

We are coming to the moment when Trump is the voice of reason, that's what. 🍌

**I DON'T KNOW ANYTHING
'BOUT POPPIN' BOTTLES.
I'M A TWIST OFF.**



**LIVE LIFE
UNFILTERED**

ENJOY RESPONSIBLY.
© 2015 Shock Top Brewing Co., Shock Top® Belgian White Belgian-Style Wheat Ale, St. Louis, MO.

These Gadgets Go to 11

21 ideas for music fans: killer audio gear, rock books and more

BEOPLAY A6 WIRELESS SPEAKER

Don't hide it on a shelf: The stylish A6 deserves prominent placement in any living room, but the Wi-Fi-enabled speaker is designed to produce optimum, room-filling sound no matter where you put it. **\$999**

REGA RP10 TURNTABLE

This skeletal turntable looks cool, but there's a method to the madness: Stripping away unnecessary mass means less vibration for sweet-sounding vinyl. **\$6,495 (with cartridge)**

GOOGLE CHROMECAST AUDIO

Any music fans on your list stuck in the Dark Ages? This bare-bones device turns an analog stereo or speaker into a full-fledged Wi-Fi-streaming system. **\$35**

PEACHTREE NOVA 220SE DIGITAL AMP

Audio nerds will lose it for this jack-of-all-trades amp that provides up to 350 watts per channel of power to any system and has a built-in digital-to-analog converter for optimizing lossless audio from streaming services like TIDAL. **\$1,599**

APPLE TV

It's no longer just a way to stream TV (although it does that pretty well) - with Siri control and a touch-pad remote, it turns any flatscreen into an addictive portal for games and apps. **\$149**

SONOS PLAY:5 WIRELESS SPEAKERS

The genius of Sonos is creating a multiroom home-audio system, but one new Play:5 uses six custom drivers to pump up the jams just fine on its own. **\$499 per speaker**



CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT: JEPPE SØRENSEN/BANG & OLUFSEN; ADAM GOODWIN/REGA RESEARCH LIMITED; GOOGLE; SONOS; PEACHTREE AUDIO; APPLE



**AUDIOQUEST
NIGHTHAWK
AUDIOPHILE
HEADPHONES**

If Friday-night plans involve a dark room and *Kid A* on the turntable, these studio-grade cans are the perfect mate: Powerful 50mm drivers deliver deep bass and warm, natural sounds, and the ear-shaped cups are particularly comfy. **\$599**

**RHA T20 HIGH-
END EARBUDS**

For audiophiles who don't want to look like an airplane mechanic, these stainless-steel earbuds are a revelation. Swappable filters in the tips optimize sound for bass or treble-heavy tunes, and a DualCoil driver makes any music crystal-clear. **\$240**



**SENGLED PULSE
LIGHTBULB**

This energy-efficient LED bulb has a secret. It's also a Bluetooth speaker. Pipe tunes to literally any corner of the house. Bathroom blues, anyone? **\$150**



**YAMAHA YAS
105 SOUNDBAR**

You haven't truly experienced a *Walking Dead* zombie groan until it's channeled through this soundbar's dual built-in subwoofers. The enhanced sound bounces around the room, creating a surround-sound-like effect. **\$250**



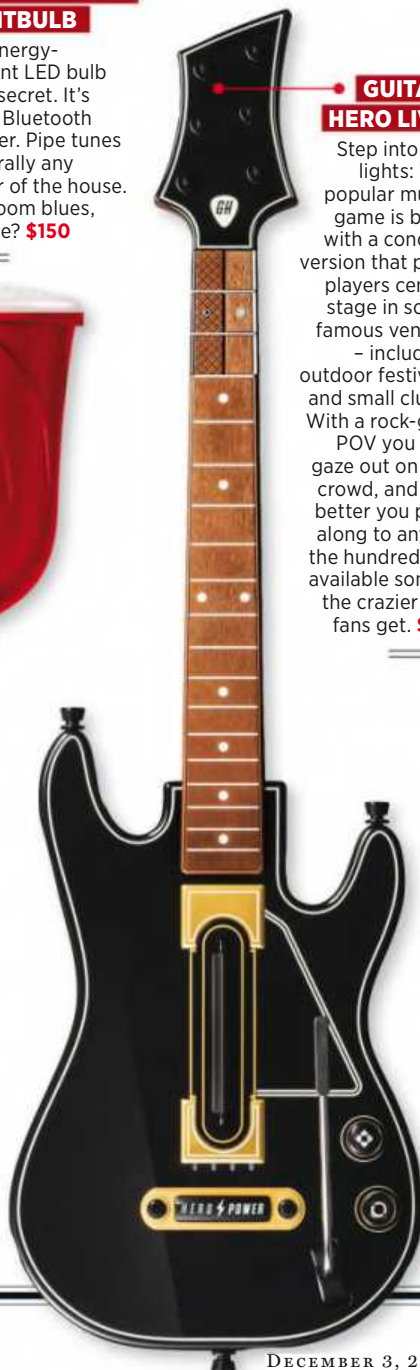
**THIEL TM3
BOOKSHELF
SPEAKERS**

Maximize any high-end home-audio system with these bookshelf-friendly speakers that create impressively clear sounds, even at maximum volume. The secret sauce is titanium-domed tweeters and a custom fiberglass woofer that reproduce music with lifelike clarity. Bonus: a slick look and a cabinet that comes in four different finishes to match any decor. **\$3,498**



**GUITAR
HERO LIVE**

Step into the lights: The popular music game is back with a concert version that puts players center stage in some famous venues - including outdoor festivals and small clubs. With a rock-god POV you can gaze out on the crowd, and the better you play along to any of the hundreds of available songs, the crazier the fans get. **\$99**



FREE MUSIC FOR EVERYTHING YOU DO

LISTEN TO
BLOGGED-POP PARTY RADIO

Google Play Music has curated radio stations to make every moment better. So next time you need an on-trend, danceable soundtrack for your party, visit Google Play Music for "Blogged-Pop Party Radio" featuring "Talking Body (Gryffin Remix)" by Tove Lo and more of the best blogged about beats from around the world.

Try for free at g.co/music or tap  on your Android phone

Google Play Music



HOLIDAY GIFT GUIDE 2015

THE GRATEFUL DEAD 'FARE THEE WELL'

This box set of 12 CDs and seven Blu-ray Discs chronicles the Dead's goodbye concerts from this past summer and includes great backstage footage. **\$175**



BOB MARLEY, 'THE COMPLETE ISLAND RECORDINGS'

These vinyl reissues of all 11 of Marley's albums for Island Records come in a silver box shaped like a lighter, in homage to the packaging of his 1973 debut. **\$236**



KURT COBAIN 'MONTAGE OF HECK'

Culled from hundreds of hours of Cobain's cassette demos spanning his entire career, this fascinating, often revelatory box set – a companion to the HBO documentary *Montage of Heck* – takes us inside his raw, wide-ranging process. **\$128**



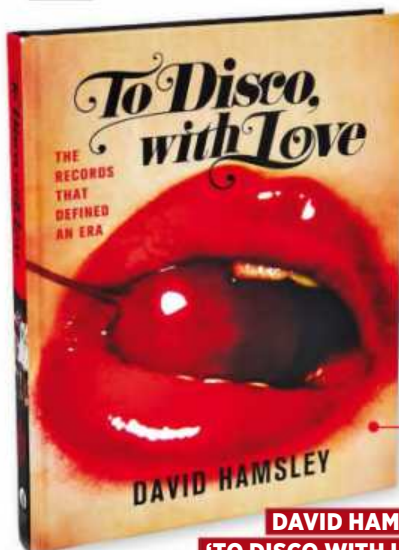
FACES, '1970-75'

The pub-rock pioneers' four LPs, newly remastered, plus sweaty deep cuts. **\$116**



LED ZEPPELIN, 'CODA'

The best of the deluxe Zep reissues, with outtakes spanning the band's trailblazing career. **\$132**



DAVID HAMSLEY 'TO DISCO WITH LOVE'

No period of pop music produced crazier, more colorful album art than the disco era, and this very entertaining book spotlights the wildest. Cher's sexy Viking costume on 1979's *Take Me Home* deserves its own chapter. **\$20**



BARON WOLMAN 'GROUPIES'

A snapshot of the Sixties groupie scene from ROLLING STONE's first chief photographer. **\$60**



BOB DYLAN 'THE CUTTING EDGE'

With six discs of revealing rehearsals and outtakes from *Bringing It All Back Home*, *Highway 61 Revisited* and *Blonde on Blonde*, this is essential for serious Dylan-heads. **\$150**



SHEPARD FAIREY 'COVERT TO OVERT'

An often gorgeous survey of recent work by Fairey, the street artist behind Barack Obama's iconic Hope poster. **\$50**



THE TOUR THAT BECAME LEGEND

THE DRINK
THAT FUELED IT



Originally reserved for members of the Cuervo family, Reserva de la Familia® is an Extra Añejo tequila aged in French and American oak made from the Estate's finest hand-selected agaves.

ReservaDeLaFamilia.com/RollingStones

The Rolling Stones™ and the tongue and lips logo are trademarks of Musidor B.V. ©2015 Musidor B.V. under license from Bravado International Group Merchandising Services, Inc. All Rights Reserved. Jose Cuervo® Tequila. 40% Alc/Vol. (80 proof). Trademarks owned by Tequila Cuervo La Rojeña, S.A. de C.V. ©2015 Proximo, Jersey City, NJ. Please drink responsibly.



UNCAP **REAL** FLAVOR



GENERATIONS
OLD
RECIPE
CRAFTED IN MEXICO

• FIVE •
**AUTHENTIC
FLAVORS**

UNIQUE
ARBOL+PIQUIN
PEPPERS

Signature
SPICES



UNCAP REAL FLAVOR AT
CHOLULA.COM



The trademarks Cholula, the Cholula bottle design and the Cholula label design are owned by and used under license from the trademark owner, Salsas de Jalisco Cacú, S.A. de C.V.

THE

Hot List

— 2015 —

What's new,
what's next,
what's nuts:
the most badass
garage band,
a subversive
superhero, viral
dance crazes
and much,
much more

Hot Bond girl:
Léa Seydoux

HAIR BY DAVID HARBOROW. MAKEUP BY
SANDRINE CANO. NAILS BY TYPHANIE.

Right
'Here,'
right now:
Cara in
New York

Hot Voice Alessia Cara

Meet the shy Canadian teen who's turned into this year's least likely pop star

I STILL FEEL LIKE I'M FLOATING," says Alessia Cara. It's less than 24 hours since Taylor Swift invited Cara onstage in Tampa, Florida, to belt Cara's smash single, "Here," for 55,000 screaming fans, and the 19-year-old Canadian has barely caught her breath. "I was so high on adrenaline, I practically started crying," she says. "Everything that's happened in the past year hit me all at once."

"Here" is one of 2015's most unexpected pop hits – a sullen, midtempo song about feeling like an "antisocial pessimist" at a party. Clearly, it's struck a nerve: The song has passed 19 million views on YouTube and set high expectations for Cara's debut LP, *Know-It-All*. A self-described shy kid from "a very traditional Italian family" in suburban Ontario, Cara began quietly uploading acoustic covers of Adele and Amy Winehouse songs to YouTube at 13. She didn't even tell her friends about her pop-star dreams – until last year, when she signed with Def Jam after her videos caught an exec's eye. "I posted on Instagram to tell everyone," she says. "I got so many texts: 'How come you didn't tell us?!' They thought I was just skipping class."

SIMON VOZICK-LEVINSON

HOT SECRET WEAPON JUSTIN TRANTER

How a guy from a middling rock band became the go-to writer for pop stars who want emotional hits



Gomez,
Stefani,
Steinfeld
(from left)

Tranter

Growing up gay in Chicago, Justin Tranter remembers wanting to only sing the songs written for girls. Now he's writing those songs – the divorce ballad "Used to Love You" for Gwen Stefani, the masturbation anthem "Love Myself" for Hailee Steinfeld and Selena Gomez's "Good for You," as well as Justin Bieber's "Sorry." Tranter, ex-singer of New York's Semi Precious Weapons, moved in 2012 to L.A., where, working frequently with co-writer Julia Michaels, he's become an in-demand hitmaker. "As a queer person who's been out since 1994, I'm supersensitive to those boxes that people get put in," he says. "It has been a conscious decision to give women the power they deserve and let men be allowed to be vulnerable."

JOE LEVY

HOT BP VW //// HOT STILL NO JUSTIN BIEBER //// HOT McCONAISSANCE THE CHRISTIAN SLATER-SANCE

Hot Revival The Dance Craze

Pumped up by Vine and celebrity practitioners from LeBron to Hillary, a slew of viral dances made 2015 the hottest year for dance fads since the era of Da Dip and the Cha Cha Slide. A quick guide to the biggest:



Whip/Nae Nae

Difficulty ★★★★★

ORIGINS The Whip and Nae Nae were separate in the early 2000s, until teen rapper Silentó paired them in his “Watch Me” video this past summer, pushing his single to Number Three on the charts.

HOW TO First Whip, with one arm out in front, like you’re driving a car and rocking to the beat. Then Nae Nae, which requires a full body shimmy as you raise your arm. “It’s for when you’ve nailed something,” says choreographer Jamaica Craft.

BEST CELEBRITY RENDITION The dance hit peak saturation when Hillary Clinton attempted it on *Ellen*.



Hit the Quan

Difficulty ★★★★★

ORIGINS Inspired by rapper Rich Homie Quan’s pelvic thrusts in the video “Flex” from earlier this year, the dance got its true start in iHeart Memphis’ “Hit the Quan” video from the summer.

HOW TO Make a slow thrust while stepping side to side, then get down and swing your arms. “After that, you start adding your own flair – it’s pretty hot,” says Vine dance star Sione Maraschino.

BEST CELEBRITY RENDITION Dwayne “The Rock” Johnson Instagrammed a goofy dad take in front of his workout equipment.



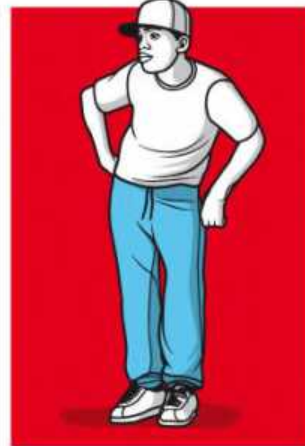
The Dab

Difficulty ★★★★★

ORIGINS First seen in Atlanta rapper Skipka da Flippa’s 2014 video “How Fast Can You Count It,” the Dab caught fire in the following months as MCs such as Migos, Peewee Longway and Future – not to mention countless Viners – posted their variations of the dance.

HOW TO Make a bowing motion as you lower your head into a bended arm, like you’re literally dabbing sweat off your face.

BEST CELEBRITY RENDITION LeBron James, before a scrimmage in early October, followed by NBA players everywhere.



Shmoney

Difficulty ★★★★★

ORIGINS The dance that helped launch the Vine era: Rapper Bobby Shmurda kicked it off in 2014 when he showed his moves in the “Hot Nigga” video, inspiring imitators from Flatbush to Malibu.

HOW TO Sway your hips with your arms raised and groove in place to the beat. “It’s almost like the Camel Walk, a Sixties, James Brown kind of dance,” says Craft. “You have to let the music take control.”

BEST CELEBRITY RENDITION Rihanna busted it out with her girl crew in true RiRi style: on a yacht, smoking a blunt, in a bikini. **BRITTANY SPANOS**

HOT STEALTH RELEASE SPRINGSTEEN LIVE BOOTLEGS

After years of enduring low-quality bootlegs, Bruce is quietly releasing decades’ worth of classic concerts

Bruce Springsteen is one of the greatest live artists ever, but he released only a few concert albums in his career. Until now, that is: In the past year, Springsteen has binge-dropped 39 professionally recorded shows – initially focusing on his 2014 *High Hopes* tour, but eventually spanning his entire career. He partnered with the bootleg site Nugs.net, mainly in response to the poor quality of the shows he saw

popping up on YouTube. “They have some incredible stuff in the archives,” says Nugs founder Brad Serling. A new show appears about every six weeks (downloads are \$9.95, physical CDs are \$23). So far, highlights include an acoustic set from 2005 and a classic from the *Born to Run* tour. Serling hopes some of Springsteen’s peers will follow his example. “We’re planting the seed,” he says. **ANDY GREENE**



Springsteen live in 1984

HOT NON-McCONAISSANCE THE ZAC EFRONAISSANCE ///// HOT LITTLE BIT COUNTRY GWEN STEFANI



Interstellar
overdrive: King
Gizzard and the
Lizard Wizard

Hot Jams King Gizzard and the Lizard Wizard

Meet the Aussie psych-rock band so awesomely trippy that even its flute solos rule

KING GIZZARD AND THE LIZARD WIZARD are really psyched about the album they just finished, which they promise is “superheavy.” There’s just one problem: The LP, due next year, is full of progressive-rock jams so complex and intricate that they can’t play it live in full yet. “If we were in the studio for six months and we practiced it every day, we could probably do it,” says singer and multi-instrumentalist Stu Mackenzie. “That’d be fucked, though.”

The group – whose name is a joke from its days as a Melbourne, Australia, party band – has quickly built a reputation as one of the most mind-bending psychedel-

ic outfits on the planet. Since forming in 2010, King Gizzard have packed seven albums with everything from Seventies AM bubblegum to acid-test odysseys. Part of the fun of seeing the band live is watching the seven members try to pack their huge setup – including two drummers, one bassist, three guitarists and a flute stand – on tiny club stages. (In Australia, they’ve built up enough of a cult audience to play the Sydney Opera House.)

Last year, King Gizzard and the Lizard Wizard released *I’m in Your Mind Fuzz*, largely a concept album about mind control, and this year’s *Paper Mâché Dream Balloon* took a surprising turn into folkie prettiness. During the sessions for *Paper Mâché*, Mackenzie used some downtime to learn to play clarinet and violin. “My clarinet playing is still awful,” he says with a laugh. “But my flute playing is pretty awful too!”

KORY GROW



HOT ROCK CITY MELBOURNE, AUSTRALIA

The U.S. may be enjoying the best year for hip-hop since Biggie and Tupac, and pasty folks behind keyboards still have most of the juice in the U.K., but in Melbourne, shaggy bands run the show. Courtney Barnett, the unofficial queen of this city of 4 million’s rock world, has one big complaint: “There’s no beach.” But that fact, along with the Seattle-like climate and recently relaxed liquor laws, may help explain the vibrancy of the music scene. Head to one of its close-to-500 venues, and if you’re lucky, you can catch garage-y acts like King Gizzard, Barnett and Total Control. Here’s a rough guide:

THE RECORD LABEL MILK! RECORDS

When Barnett self-released her 2012 EP, she put a “Milk!” label on it to make it look like she’d been signed. Eventually it became a real label, home to acts such as acoustic balladeer Fraser A. Gorman.



Barnett

THE NEIGHBORHOOD FITZROY

A center of Melbourne bohemia since the 1970s, Fitzroy still has one of the highest concentrations of bars and bands; you’ll see dudes on the street who look like they could have been in the Bad Seeds, the granddaddies of the city’s rock scene.

THE CLUB THE TOTE HOTEL



Australia’s equivalent to CBGB remains so beloved that when new licensing rules

forced it to close, thousands of people turned out to protest, and the Tote reopened within weeks.

HOT JOHNNY DRAMA JEB BUSH ///// HOT I’M GOIN’ DOWN CHRIS CHRISTIE ///// HOT ZUNE PONO

Hot Future Sounds Four Genres Bubbling Up

These new styles are the best the underground had to offer in 2015 – get ready to hear more of them

Tropical House

WHAT A sun-kissed strain of EDM – what Jimmy Buffett would spin if he traded his guitar for turntables.

WHO'S DOING IT German producer Felix Jaehn; Norwegian producer Kygo, who ruled festivals in 2015.

KEY TRACK Jaehn's remix of Omi's "Cheerleader," which topped the Hot 100 this year.

CROSSOVER CHANCES It already has: Just check the umbrella-drink beats underneath Justin Bieber's "What Do You Mean."



Kygo

Chicago Bop

WHAT A fun, frenetic hip-hop subgenre designed to soundtrack loose-limbed, elbow-throwing dances heating up the streets of the Chi.

WHO'S DOING IT Teenage duo Sicko Mobb; MBE; Stunt Taylor.

KEY TRACK Sicko Mobb's "Kool-Aid."

CROSSOVER CHANCES Pretty decent, considering Bop's sonic similarity to massive hits like Fetty Wap's "Trap Queen" and Silentó's "Watch Me (Whip/Nae Nae)."



Sicko Mobb

Blackgaze

WHAT Indie rock at its noisiest meets metal at its most gnarled – "black" comes from black metal, "gaze" from shoegaze, with roots in the distortion-mad sound of My Bloody Valentine.

WHO'S DOING IT Bay Area art-metalers Deafheaven; Vattnet Viskar; Bosse-de-Nage.

KEY TRACK Deafheaven's furiously intense 2013 opus "Dream House."

CROSSOVER CHANCES You're not gonna hear this stuff on rock radio anytime soon. But that doesn't mean Bosse-de-Nage's *All Fours* isn't one of the best metal albums to come out this year.



Deafheaven's George Clarke

Gqom

WHAT This moody, hip-hop-influenced South African house music is currently owning the London dance-music scene.

WHO'S DOING IT Rudeboyz; DJ Lag; Citizen Boy.

KEY TRACK Citizen Boy's hypnotically dank "remake" of Adele's "Hometown Glory."

CROSSOVER CHANCES No way! Unless you spend time in techno clubs, you'll miss out.

CHRISTOPHER R. WEINGARTEN



DJs in Durban

HOT GROOVE MARIACHI FLOR DE TOLOACHE

All-female mariachi group brings the party into the 21st century

When Dan Auerbach was finishing the Arcs' debut, he called this 13-member all-female crew, who update traditional mariachi with pop, soul and funk. "They came in for an interlude but ended up playing on half the album," he says. No wonder: "With mariachi, you have to jump in and know you're going to fly," adds Shae Fiol, who plays the Mexican vihuela. **SIMON VOZICK-LEVINSON**



Mariachi Flor de Toloache

HOT PLAYLIST JAMIE XX

Brilliant, obscure tracks curated by one of the world's best producers

London producer Jamie Smith (a.k.a. Jamie xx) made one of 2015's best LPs with *In Colour*, an album of downtempo dance music paced to feel like one of his DJ sets. Smith's excellent Spotify playlist collects more than 100 records he's DJ'd himself: low-key house and obscure disco with detours into Jamaican dancehall, hip-hop and even indie folk. It's a great deep dive that helped him organize his listening: "I have a lot of records," he says, "and I'm not very tidy." **JON DOLAN**

HOT AIMEE OSBOURNE TIFFANY TRUMP // HOT MICHAEL JORDAN ON THE WIZARDS NEW 'MUPPETS' SHOW

Hot Actor

Scott Eastwood

How Clint's son became a rising star and Taylor's favorite video hunk

WHEN SCOTT EASTWOOD was 18, he wanted to buy a used truck. So he asked his dad for \$10,000.

It wasn't an insane request – after all, the dad in question was one of the biggest stars in Hollywood history. But Clint Eastwood wasn't in a giving mood and turned his son down. “I remember thinking, ‘What a fucking dick!’” says Scott, who managed to scrape together \$1,000 for a 13-year-old Crown Victoria. “But now that I busted my ass for so many years, I think, ‘I am fucking glad he did that.’” He's also glad his dad said no to casting him in 2014's *American Sniper*. Or, rather, simply ignored his audition: “I just didn't get a callback.”

Luckily, the younger Eastwood, 29, inherited a lot from his dad, including his looks. The resemblance is so strong, in fact, that Scott looks like he could've just walked off the set of *Dirty Harry*. Now, that pedigree – as well as his leading-man chops – is translating into box-office success. Earlier this year, Scott played a sweaty, sensitive cowboy in Nicholas Sparks' *The Longest Ride*, a role that helped him get cast in the desert-fantasy video for Taylor Swift's “Wildest Dreams.” “She is a class act,” says Eastwood. “That's how I want to be as a person.” His agents advised him against doing a music video. “They said, ‘We don't want you to be Taylor Swift's boy toy,’” Eastwood says with a groan. “Are you fucking kidding? I would love to be Taylor Swift's boy toy!”

Eastwood was raised partly by his mom, a flight attendant who dated Clint in the Eighties. But his dad played a large role in his upbringing, teaching him to hunt, fish and ride horses. Recently, Scott began flying helicopters, a hobby he picked up from

Eastwood auditioned for his dad's *American Sniper*: “I didn't get a callback.”



his dad, and Clint has given Scott small roles in a few of his films, including *Gran Torino* and *Flags of Our Fathers*. “There will always be people who think, ‘Oh, rich kid, trust-fund baby, blah, blah,’” Scott says. “That ain't fucking true at all.”

Next year, Eastwood will co-star in Oliver Stone's *Snowden* and the superhero-blockbuster-to-be *Suicide Squad*. Right now, Scott is single, as is Clint, who, at 85,

divorced his second wife last year. Scott says he's “learned from his [father's] mistakes.” Sort of. “A while ago my agents got offered a charity poker tournament with a Victoria's Secret model,” he says. “They passed because they thought I'd think it was too low-rent. I said, ‘I'm single. I love Victoria's Secret models, and I like poker. Don't ever pass on something without asking me again!’”

AMY NICHOLSON

TONY DURAN/CPI SYNDICATION

HOT ZIMA CAPTAIN CRUNCH BETA-VAPE E-CIG ///// HOT ZUMA DANGER BIRD ///// HOT DANGER BIRD

Hot Bond Girl

Léa Seydoux

How a 'street' kid from Paris became 007's coolest leading lady in ages

I LEARNED FROM THE streets," says actress Léa Seydoux, perched on a plush sofa in the bar of New York's Bowery Hotel. "I mean, I'm not, like, Jay Z," she adds, laughing through the gap in her front teeth. "But in a way, I really did my own education."

The "streets," in Seydoux's case, were the boulevards of Paris' Saint-Germain-des-Prés neighborhood, historically the city's cultural center, where, thanks to her parents' bohemian tendencies, Seydoux was often left to her own devices. "I've always felt like an orphan," says Seydoux, who was one of seven kids. "I didn't have any structure."

It was "the life of freedom, being your own boss" that drew Seydoux, 30, to acting. She had her breakout performance in the 2013 French film *Blue Is the Warmest Color*, which featured a now-legendary seven-minute lesbian sex scene and won her a Palme d'Or at Cannes. Right now you can catch her as the newest Bond girl in *Spectre*, opposite Daniel Craig. It's by far the most high-profile role yet for an actress with deep art-house roots. "I thought, 'Oh, it's never going to work, all the other girls will want [the part],'" she says.

In fact, Seydoux was used to being the misfit in a glittery world. Her father is CEO of the wireless company Parrot, and, in Seydoux's words, a "genius" engineer; her mother a philanthropist whose work often took her to Africa. Her family had entertainment-world connections thanks to her grandfather, a film producer, and Seydoux had childhood encounters with Mick Jagger and Lou Reed. But Seydoux was also left to wander the streets "badly dressed and in too-small shoes. And I had lice," she recalls. "I would ask girls to come to my house and play, and they were like, 'No, my mother doesn't want it, there's no supervision.'"

Seydoux started acting when she was 18, taking up a profession no one in her



French connection: Seydoux on Mustique Island in the Caribbean

family had envisioned for her. "When I said, 'I want to be an actress,' my parents were like, 'Bullshit. Try if you want, but it's never going to work.'" But after becoming a fixture of French cinema, Seydoux was cast in Woody Allen's *Midnight in Paris* and as a farm girl fleeing Nazi soldiers in Quentin Tarantino's *Inglourious*

Basterds. Her upbringing helped prepare her for her character in *Spectre*, an assassin's daughter who shares Seydoux's "instinct de vie" – the scrappy survival skills of someone burying her past. "Acting, you play a role every time," she says softly. "So it was made for me because, in a way, I can hide."

ALEX MORRIS

HOT 'LOUIE' 'MASTER OF NONE' ///// HOT BEATS BY CALIGULA SENNHEISER'S \$55,000 HEADPHONES



Bobby Cannavale,
sucking in the
Seventies

Hot Anticipation HBO's 'Vinyl'

Martin Scorsese and Mick Jagger take a deep dive into the 1970s rock scene in a new series

ABOUT 20 YEARS AGO, MICK Jagger had an idea for a dream project: an epic movie that would chart the history of the music business over several decades. To get his vision off the ground, he eventually recruited Martin Scorsese and *Boardwalk Empire* creator Terence Winter. As they worked, it became clear they couldn't cram the whole story into one film. "It was very sprawling," says Jagger. "And as TV became more refined and exciting and interesting to make, we decided to do it as a series."

The result is *Vinyl*, which premieres on HBO in February. Set in New York in 1973, the show centers on Richie Finestra (played by Bobby Cannavale), a record-label president with a coke habit, a troubled marriage and a company losing its Midas touch. Cannavale, 45, enjoyed cramming for the role. He read histories of music of the era, like *Love Goes to Buildings on Fire* and the record-business chronicle *Hit Men*. He also "spent a lot of time with the right people" – includ-

ing Patti Smith guitarist Lenny Kaye and David Johansen, frontman of the New York Dolls. "It's not like researching a cop show," Cannavale adds.

Being a Scorsese drama, there's no shortage of sex, drugs and pathological violence; Andrew Dice Clay is particularly on point as a deranged, swing-club-loving radio exec. Along with all the period decadence, there's plenty of music in the form of dramatizations of real-life bands like the Dolls (who we see playing a revelatory gig in the pilot) and, in flashbacks, various blues and R&B acts that Cannavale's character fell in love with when he was first getting into the music business.

Yet the biggest star in *Vinyl* might be the streets of New York in the 1970s – "a pretty raunchy place," says Jagger. "I like the milieu," he adds. "[The show] was always going to be set there." Both Jagger and Scorsese have depicted this New York before. Given the decade's excesses, it wasn't easy to perfectly recall every decades-old detail. "You do your research," Jagger says. "And your research colors your memory." But did the guy who sang "Shattered" ever actually see "people dressed in plastic bags directing traffic"? "Of course!" he says, laughing.

To prepare, Cannavale hung out with 1970s rockers like David Johansen.

Hot Comedian Jerrod Carmichael

How a young stand-up turned his button-pushing humor into a hit network sitcom

JERROD CARMICHAEL ESTABLISHED himself with great, button-pushing stand-up bits about the Trayvon Martin trial and enjoying Chik-Fil-A sandwiches despite the company's anti-gay politics ("I didn't choose to like Chik-Fil-A – I was born this way"). He inspired Spike Lee to direct his first comedy special in years and held his own against Seth Rogen in *Neighbors*. But this year, Carmichael pulled off an even bigger coup: proving his radical voice could work on a network sitcom.

NBC's *The Carmichael Show*, an old-school multicamera series in the mold of Norman Lear's *All in the Family*, was the surprise hit of the summer, with a six-episode run that earned high ratings and critical praise for its sharp takes on big topics like transgender issues and Black Lives Matter. (If protests are so effective, Carmichael's character jokes, "then why did I see George Zimmerman at a Dave & Buster's?")

The comic, who'll revisit his role as frat guy Garf in next year's *Neighbors* sequel, is already hard at work on Season Two of *The Carmichael Show*. "We want you to think," Carmichael says. "And if being uncomfortable is part of it, then, yes, I do enjoy that."

MARK YARM



So funny it hurts:
Surprise sitcom
star Carmichael

WILL HERMES

HOT MATLOCK TOM SELLECK IN 'BLUE BLOODS' ///// **HOT GIVE IT A REST ALREADY** 'DOUBLE DOWN'

Hot Anti-Superhero Krysten Ritter

The star of Netflix's 'Jessica Jones' isn't your average skimpy-leotard crime-fighter

WHEN KRYSTEN Ritter looks in the mirror, she might see a model, a sass-talking rom-com sidekick or the kind of irreverent funny person who would star in a sitcom featuring the phrase "Don't Trust the B----" in the title. All of which she has been. "[But] I would not see what the culture described to me as a female superhero," she says. "Like Wonder Woman or someone in those, like, slutty costumes? No way."

Which is exactly why the 33-year-old is the perfect choice for the starring role in Netflix's new show *Jessica Jones* – it's far darker than your typical men-in-capas melodrama. The series, based on a Marvel comic from the early 2000s, follows a superhero who, after a traumatic experience, ditches the costume and becomes a private investigator. She's also a complete mess, chronically hung over and prone to compulsive hookups with bartenders and obsessing over the show's villain (David Tennant). In other words, she's the sort of conflicted, damaged antihero who's right in Ritter's sweet spot.

"I needed something complex," she says. "Plus, I like doing dark characters and comedy. It's a psychological thriller first, and a superhero show second. It's exactly the kind of female-led show I'd watch. And I kick a lot of ass without having to wear a leotard."

DAVID FEAR



"I'm not what the culture described to me as a female superhero."

HOT TV MANDATE KEEP THE GEEKS HAPPY

After decades of fudging the comic-book details, networks have finally figured out how to do superhero TV shows right

Television used to have trouble getting comics right – usually by fudging the question of whether they wanted to appeal to the geeks, or to newbies who just wanted a decent TV version. But recently, networks finally cracked the



The Flash
and Supergirl

secret: If the geeks ain't happy, nobody's happy. Even those of us who don't know bupkis about the comics behind *Daredevil* or *The Flash* want to know we're entering a version true to the original. It's like the science

on *The Big Bang Theory*: You don't recognize the Feynman equations on the whiteboard, but the comedy depends on being able to trust it's the real thing. *Supergirl* and *Jessica Jones*, this season's two big superhero debuts, are miles apart in terms of mood – one is a crowd-pleaser, the other a downer for adults. But both refuse to water anything down – which means both are achievements that could only happen right now. **ROB SHEFFIELD**

HOT OVERRATED THE FAT JEW ///// **HOT UNDERRATED** BEING FAT AND JEWISH ///// **HOT STEPPER** DRAKE



Hot Business Trip LSD Microdosing

How regular doses of acid have become the creativity enhancer of choice for some professionals

LET'S CALL HIM "KEN." KEN IS 25, has a master's degree from Stanford and works for a tech startup in San Francisco, doing a little bit of everything: hardware and software design, sales and business development. Recently, he has discovered a new way to enhance his productivity and creativity, and it's not Five Hour Energy or meditation.

Ken is one of a growing number of professionals who enjoy taking "microdoses" of psychedelics – in his free time and, occasionally, at the office. "I had an epic time," he says at the end of one such day. "I was making a lot of sales, talking to a lot of people, finding solutions to their technical problems."

A microdose is about a tenth of the normal dose – around 10 micrograms of LSD, or 0.2-0.5 grams of mushrooms. The dose is subperceptual – enough, says Rick Doblin, founder and executive director of the Multidisciplinary Association for Psychedelic Studies, "to feel a little bit of energy lift, a little bit of insight, but not so much that you are tripping."

At a conference on psychedelic research in 2011, James Fadiman, author of *The*

Psychedelic Explorer's Guide, introduced microdosing to the popular discourse when he presented the results of survey data he had collected from self-reporting experimenters. Ever since, he says, the number of people describing their experiences – or asking for advice – has been on a steady rise.

The reports come from all over the world, but Fadiman says there's a steady, consistent stream originating in the San Francisco area. The typical profile there is an "übersmart twentysomething" curious to see whether microdosing will help him or her work through technical problems and become more innovative. "It's an extremely healthy alternative to Adderall," says Fadiman, referring to a drug popular with programmers.

For best results, Fadiman recommends microdosing every fourth day, taking the drug in the morning and then sticking to your usual daily routine. His correspondents have told him regular microdosing has alleviated a bevy of disorders, including depression, migraines and chronic-fatigue syndrome, while increasing outside-the-box thinking. "Microdosing has helped me come up with some new designs to explore and new ways of thinking," Ken says. "You would be surprised at how many people are actually doing it. It's crazy awesome."

ANDREW LEONARD

HOT HIGH NEW COLORADO WEED STRAINS

Legalization has allowed Colorado weed growers to make their product freakier and more potent than ever. "One guy came in and said, 'I haven't smoked since 1972. What do I do?'" says Brad McGinnis of Dank-Colorado, a top Denver dispensary. "I recommended to him, 'Take a couple of puffs and put it out.'" For these three new strains, all of which have seriously elevated THC counts (between 26 and 28 percent, compared with 18 percent for average bud), we might add: Call a neurosurgeon.

STEVE KNOPPER

DEATH STAR

TYPE OF HIGH Up and down. "It's going to hit you like a sativa – more of an energetic high – for the first 10 to 15 minutes," says Jake Heym, store-front manager of the Dank-Colorado dispensary. "Then it's going to come in with a nice knockout punch and really mellow you out."



RECOMMENDED FOR Dinner with friends, followed by four hours of Animal Planet.

G6

TYPE OF HIGH Energetic. *Fusion* magazine recently called G6 "the cocaine strain." It smells like "a cheesy foot," says Kala Williams, whose family owns the Medicine Man dispensary. But it tastes better than it smells, and there are other benefits. "It's more uplifting and giggly – not a downer at all."



RECOMMENDED FOR A big night out – think Phish on New Year's Eve.

BIG BAND INDICA

TYPE OF HIGH Heavy. This bubblegum-chronic indica is the most potent strain carried by the Green Solution, a chain of Colorado dispensaries. "People say it hits them so hard that it makes their eyes shake to the point that you want to stay home," says assistant manager Josh Ramirez.



RECOMMENDED FOR Forgetting. About everything.



Huston at his skate park in San Clemente, California

Hot Skater Nyjah Huston

How an X Games prodigy escaped a remote farm and went on to rule his sport

THINK OF 21-YEAR-OLD NYJAH Huston as the LeBron James of skateboarding – if LeBron James had entered the NBA draft when he was in third grade. In 2005, at age 10, Huston won the prestigious Tampa Am championship, competing against “dudes who were twice my age and size,” he says. At 11, he was the youngest athlete ever invited to the X Games, and soon he began earning \$300,000 a year in sponsorships and endorsements. But just as he was “starting to get into girls and partying a little,” his father, a devout Rastafarian, moved the Huston family from Davis, California, to a remote farm in the mountains of Puerto Rico. “He wanted to keep his family isolated,” Huston says. “My brothers and me would go down to a

stream to collect water. It was definitely not easy to carry.”

Eventually, Huston’s parents divorced and his mom relocated the family to Orange County, California. Huston returned to the circuit, is now the biggest money-winning skateboarder in history, and holds nine X Games titles. Inspired by his time in Puerto Rico, he also co-founded Let It Flow, a charitable organization that helps bring clean water to impoverished areas worldwide – recently it subsidized construction of its first freshwater sanitation station in Ethiopia. “Life is too easy here,” he says. “I have a massive home, a collection of cars and my own private skate park. It’s cool to be able to help people.” While in Ethiopia, Huston and fellow skate legend Tony Hawk decided to address another pressing social issue. “They had the worst pavement to ride on and the shittiest ramps you could imagine,” Huston says. “So we built them a proper skate ramp.”

ERIC HENDRIX

Hot Rebel Skier Gus Kenworthy

After years in the cold, the freestyle medalist is the first action-sports star to come out

AS ONE OF THE TOP freestyle skiers in the world – known for what many consider to be the greatest half-pipe run ever, with four consecutive double-corks – Gus Kenworthy had to make himself at home in the testosterone-jacked world of action sports. “I wanted so badly to fit in, and I ended up doing a lot of things I didn’t want to, like sleeping with girls,” says the 24-year-old. After he won a silver medal at the Sochi Olympics in 2014, Kenworthy wanted to kiss his boyfriend on the slopes, then reconsidered. “I didn’t want to do something that would tarnish my image...and maybe my sponsors wouldn’t want to put my face on something,” he says.

Then, at this year’s X Games in January, Kenworthy felt the stress; he had a disappointing run and found himself becoming distracted – and paranoid that he’d out himself by mistake during interviews. Finally, he decided to be the first action-sports star to come out, in an interview in *ESPN the Magazine*. The response – including shout-outs from Jason Collins and Miley Cyrus – has been more positive than Kenworthy ever expected. “It makes me wonder why I waited so long,” he says.

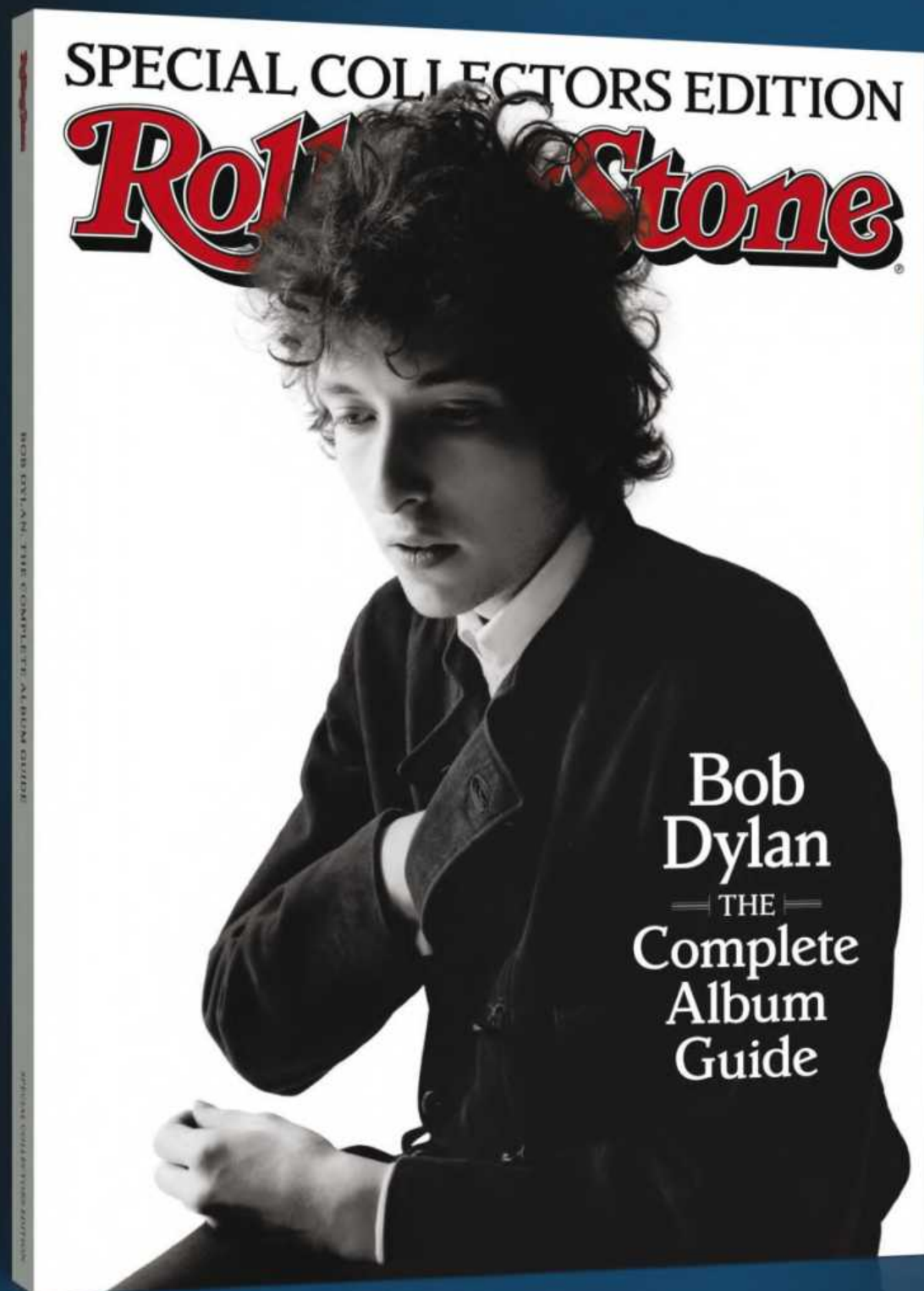
DAVID BROWNE



Kenworthy has gotten support from Miley Cyrus and Jason Collins.

ROBIN MACDONALD

HOT MEDICINE SHOW THERANOS ///// HOT BEIRDO DAVID LETTERMAN ///// HOT KOOL MOE DEE MECK MILL



ON NEWSSTANDS NOW

Also available at bn.com/rsbobdylan.



THE ROLLING STONE INTERVIEW Bernie Sanders

The candidate on challenging Hillary, taking on the one percent, and why he believes his radical campaign will prevail

BY **Tim Dickinson**

PHOTOGRAPH BY **Christopher Anderson**

54 | ROLLING STONE



VERMONT SEN. BERNIE SANDERS – JUST PLAIN “Bernie” to his backers – is the unlikely of political sensations. The self-styled “democratic socialist” has packed arenas and meeting halls from Seattle to L.A. to Atlanta, drawing nearly 400,000 supporters to his rallies. Decrying a “rigged” economy and a political system corrupted by billionaires, Sanders has refused Super PAC politics, instead drawing on 750,000 grassroots donors. On the strength of \$30-average checks, he has built a campaign war chest to rival the Hillary Clinton juggernaut. ★ Sanders has already altered the course of the 2016 campaign. His resonance with the Democratic Party’s activist base has forced Clinton to tack left, repeatedly. But don’t mistake this as Sanders’ endgame. “Bernie’s campaign is more than symbolic – it’s real, and it can succeed,” says senior adviser Tad Devine, a veteran of Al Gore’s 2000 bid. The Sanders machine is built to slingshot to an early lead, propelled by grassroots excitement in Iowa and New Hampshire, and then to fight, delegate by delegate, all the way to the convention. And recent polls counter

the notion that Sanders is “unelectable.” An October NBC News/*Wall Street Journal* survey shows Sanders besting Donald Trump by nine points, Marco Rubio by five.

Sanders has a unique ability to drive turnout among “lower-income working whites,” Devine insists. But an October National Student Town Hall at George Mason University – a public school in leafy Fairfax, Virginia – suggests a far broader resonance. Sixteen hundred roaring students pack the volleyball stadium to the rafters. The audience is startlingly diverse: African-American and African immigrant, Hispanic, Asian, Middle Eastern, white, preppy, hipster, jock and dreadlocked. Kianoosh Asar, a 22-year-old Iranian immigrant, wears a homemade T-shirt that reads CAUTION THE POLLS MAY CAUSE SERIOUS BERN. For Asar, Sanders’ substance is the selling point: “I really care about all the issues,” he says. “And I care about a candidate who talks for my generation.” That Sanders would be 75 on Inauguration Day doesn’t even seem to register.

The town hall is intimate in physical scale, but expansive in virtual reach: simulcast to watch-parties in all 50 states at campuses as unexpected as Mississippi State. Sanders’ stump speech is heavy on facts – about wealth inequality, marijuana arrest rates, young-voter turnout – and short on rhetorical lift. But amid the fierce statistical urgency of his pitch, a moment of raw emotional power emerges. A Sudanese-American student who wears a blue hijab, pinned with a BERNIE 2016 button, asks Sanders how he can coun-

ter Trump and Ben Carson “bashing Muslims.” Sanders motions the student, Remaz Abdelgader, up to the stage, pulling her into a hug. “Let me be very personal,” he says. “My father’s family died in concentration camps.” The tableau of a bald white Jew from Vermont embracing a young black Muslim woman to denounce America’s “ugly stain of racism” has the audience fighting back tears. After the rally, Abdelgader, an aspiring human rights lawyer, is euphoric, declaring without a trace of irony, “I feel like he’s my Jewish dad.”

ROLLING STONE met with Sanders over two afternoons in his Senate offices. His waiting room features a life-size cutout of a black-and-white cow. His personal office is stately, if cluttered. By the window hangs a plaque honoring Eugene V. Debs, the union leader and Socialist politician who ran for president in 1920 while serving time in prison for his opposition to World War I.

Sanders has no pretension to presidential pomp. Tossing off his suit jacket, leaving it crumpled on the couch beside him, he dons a sky-blue Burlington College fleece and kicks rubber-soled shoes up on his coffee table, next to a copy of Robert Reich’s new book, *Saving Capitalism*. Sanders engages like a college professor in a bull session. As he reaches deep for an idea, his eyes dart back and forth like a metronome behind bifocals.

His demeanor is harried; the competing demands of his campaign and Senate schedule would be grueling for a politician half his age. But nothing clouds Sanders’ thinking or dulls his off-kilter wit. At the conclusion of our interview he’s due to meet with representatives of the Syrian opposition forces – who he jokes are “probably gonna break in here and shoot” if we don’t wrap on schedule.

What made you, personally, decide to run for president?

I am the longest-serving Independent in the history of the United States Congress. In 1990, I was the first democratic socialist elected in 40 years. So my path is a very unusual political path. I never believed that I would ever become a mayor, a congressman or a United States senator. And I can assure you from the depth of my heart that when I grew up in a three-and-a-half-room apartment in Brooklyn, New York – a rent-controlled apartment – that no one ever thought, or I ever thought, I would become president of the United States. I am not running to fulfill some long-held ambition. I am running for one simple reason: This country today is facing extraordinary crises in terms of climate change, income and wealth inequality; in terms of a political system which is now corrupt and is leading us toward oligarchy; in terms of the collapse of the American middle class; in terms of more people in jail than any other country

on Earth; and in terms of an immigration policy which is clearly completely broken. I just do not believe that establishment politics are going to address these issues.

Does that get to the core of why you believe Democrats should vote for you instead of Hillary Clinton?

In this particular moment in American history, where a small number of extraordinarily wealthy people increasingly control our economic and political life, what Democrats have to determine is which candidate is best prepared to take

on and defeat these powerful special interests and revitalize American democracy so that government works for all of us, not just the large campaign contributors.

I say with utmost sincerity: I have known Hillary Clinton for 25 years. I knew her as first lady. We’re not best friends, ya know, but I know her. She is a very impressive woman, very intelligent and has a huge amount of experience. Nobody de-

“I am running for one simple reason: This country is facing crises in terms of climate change and income inequality.”

Contributing editor TIM DICKINSON profiled the Freedom Caucus in October.



nies, Hillary Clinton least of all, that she is an establishment candidate. You can't go around the country touting all the governors and senators and people who support you without acknowledging that you are the candidate of the establishment. Hillary Clinton has a Super PAC, which will raise money from a whole lot of wealthy individuals and corporate interests. That's just the way it is.

I do not say, "Elect Bernie Sanders for president, I'm going to solve all of these problems." We need millions of people to stand up and fight back, to demand that government represents all of us, not just the one percent. I'm trying to create a movement. That is what my campaign is about – that is not what Hillary Clinton's establishment campaign is about.

You have called the explosion of wealth and income inequality "the great moral, economic and political issue of our time." What's at stake if we don't fix this?

The Koch brothers and their friends will be spending more money on this campaign than either the Democratic Party or the Republican Party – just one family. That is oligarchy, and that will only get worse.

To address America's economic imbalance, you're proposing a platform of democratic socialism – what does that mean to you?

Our goal should be a society in which all people have a decent standard of living, not a society in which a few people have incredible wealth while 47 million

In the Driver's Seat

Sanders campaigning during Independence Day celebrations in Denison, Iowa: "Our goal should be a society in which all people have a decent standard of living."

live in poverty. What it means to me in English is a national health care program that guarantees health care to all people. It means high-quality public education from preschool through graduate school – and one of the important points of the platform that we're running on is to make public colleges and universities tuition-free. Anybody in this country, regardless of their income, should be able to go get a higher education.

It means dealing with the fact that significant numbers of people in this country are paying a very large proportion of their incomes in housing. It means that if you're gonna work 40 hours a week, you don't live in poverty; that we raise the minimum wage to a living wage.

Look, nobody knows the magic formula to happiness. But if you have economic security, your life is a lot better than people who are struggling every single day. And I want to create that type of economic security in America.

You have a plaque of the Socialist political leader Eugene V. Debs on your wall. You have called him "one of the important heroes of American history." In 1979, you even recorded a documentary of Debs...

And I would probably be doing videos like that today if I hadn't become mayor of Burlington by 10 votes. I would have done a series, not just on Debs but other radicals that no one in America has heard of – I doubt that 10 percent of the American people know who Debs was, OK? And it's important that people know what he stood for, and the struggles that were going on in the early part of the 20th century.

In the documentary, you voice the part of Debs – re-enacting his famous speeches. Some of the language is pretty hot by today's standards. It's jarring to hear his words in your voice, talking about wage earners as "slaves" oppressed by "some capitalist parasite," calling on workers to fulfill their "great historic mission" to "overthrow the capitalist system."

Those were Debs' [words]. You're not quoting me as saying those things.

No. But people can go on the Internet and hear you say those things.

Yeah.

Did that reflect your thinking in 1979, at the dawn of the Reagan era?

No. The essence of what he was talking about [was] trying to create a society where all people had a decent standard of living rather than the types of massive exploitation and inequality which he saw in his time, and which is here today. It looks different: Children are not working in factories and they're not working in the fields, but you have millions of families today who do not know how they're gonna feed their

kids tonight. That's a fact. So many of these problems remain, maybe not as severe. But his vision is a vision that I share.

Including an "overthrow of the capitalist system"?

No, no, no. Now you're being provocative. If you follow my campaign, have you heard me talk about overthrowing the capitalist economic system?

No, I haven't.

OK. What I do talk about is a political revolution. We had an election last November in which 63 percent of the people didn't vote; 80 percent of young people didn't vote. That's, to me, not a democratic system. So what we have got to do is not only overturn *Citizens United*, but we have got to move, in my view, to public funding of elections. We have to pass universal legislation that makes everybody in this coun-

what [Republicans] are doing. And here's the good news: The Republican agenda is a very unpopular agenda.

If people really understand what goes on here in Washington, and the power of big money and the power of corporate America and the power of Wall Street, then we will be able to get that agenda through.

How would you keep your supporters involved from the Oval Office?

Look, politicians respond. If the people are asleep and not involved, they respond to the lobbyists and donors. But when people speak up and fight, if you want to survive [as a politician], you have to respond. My job is to activate people to fight for their rights and to force Congress to respond to the needs of working families.

What the president can do is to say to the American people, "OK, if you think

You've got millions of people in this country working very long hours because their wages are inadequate. We should do what Seattle and L.A. have done, what New York is thinking of doing, and that is raising the minimum wage to \$15 an hour.

Clinton has said that the \$15-an-hour figure might work for Seattle or New York, but maybe it's not right for everywhere.

Oh, I disagree with Secretary Clinton on that. Whether you're living in some rural area, whether you're living in New York City, you need a decent income in order to provide adequately for your family. And \$15 an hour is the benchmark we should be shooting for.

What's the top income-tax rate under President Sanders?

We have not come forward with a specific program right now – we will – in terms

The Rise of Sanders

(1) Leading the field in the mile run in high school in Brooklyn, 1959. (2) At a Committee on Racial Equality meeting at the University of Chicago, 1962, where Sanders orchestrated sit-ins. (3) Watching the election returns (far right) on the night he lost his second gubernatorial run in Vermont, 1976. (4) Celebrating his first electoral victory as mayor of Burlington, Vermont, 1981. (5) As a member of the House, 2000. "When I grew up in an apartment in Brooklyn," he says today, "I never thought I would become president of the United States."



try who is 18 or older eligible to vote, so we do away with the Republican voter suppression around the country.

You've had a front-row seat for the gridlock here in D.C. dogging President Obama. What chance do you see of getting your agenda through Congress?

If we win this election, it will have said that the political revolution is moving forward. In other words: I will not get elected unless there is a huge increase in voter turnout. That's a simple fact. And I will not get elected unless there are a lot of working-class people, who have turned their backs on the political system, now getting engaged in the system. Young people now getting engaged. And I will not get elected unless there is a significant increase in public consciousness.

The Republicans get away with murder. They cast horrendous votes with the full expectation that most Americans don't know what they're doing. If I am elected president, the American people will know

that it is important that public colleges and universities are tuition-free, and that that program be paid for based on a tax on Wall Street speculation, well, on March 15th there is going to be a vote in the House, and let's see if we can bring large numbers of people here to Washington to say hello to members of Congress. Let us make every member of Congress aware that millions of people are involved in this issue. They know how you are going to vote." Of course we'll win that.

What policies would you enact to address the income disparity in America?

Real unemployment today is not five percent. Real unemployment, including those who have given up looking and those who are working part time, is 10 percent. That's a lot of people. We need a massive federal jobs program. We have legislation that I will fight for, which would create up to 13 million jobs rebuilding our crumbling infrastructure – roads, bridges, rail, airports, water systems.

of individual tax brackets. But this is what I can tell you: We do away with the tax provision now that allows corporations and individuals to stash their money in the Cayman Islands and other tax havens and, in some cases, avoid paying any nickel of federal income tax. That's gone.

We have a progressive estate tax, which says to billionaire families that when the family head dies, there will be a steep tax in the transfer of that wealth to the rest of the family. In order to pay for free tuition at public colleges and universities, we impose a small speculation tax on Wall Street.

Tuition inflation is rampant. How do you compel colleges to hold down costs, particularly if the federal government is paying the tuition bill?

We pick up the bill, but not for everything. You want to build a new football stadium? The federal government is not gonna pay for that. You want to build luxury dorms? The federal government is not gonna be paying for that.

You have called global warming the gravest threat that we face. How would you approach this crisis?

Everything being equal, climate change is a greater threat to this country than terrorism. Terrorism is a very serious threat. We spend \$600 billion a year on our military. We have got to begin to summon the resources and the political will. We gotta look at it like it was a Manhattan Project. We have to look at this like a major threat to the planet. This is an international problem. It can't be addressed solely by the United States. So the United States has got to be a leader. We lead by not only talking the talk but walking the walk.

You've endorsed a tax on carbon and methane and sponsored the Keep It in the Ground Act – which would halt new coal, oil and gas leases on federal lands.

ity of pre-existing conditions, that's not a failure. Obamacare has done good things, but we still have a long way to go.

We still have 29 million people who have no health insurance. You have millions of people who have \$5,000 deductibles. That means that people hesitate to go to the doctor when they should go.

We are the only wealthy country on Earth that doesn't guarantee health care to all people as a right. Yet we spend far more money per capita on health care than anybody else. And our health care outcomes are not all that good compared to other countries. So where does that leave you? The conclusion is, we should move toward a national health care program, which I believe should be in the form of a Medicare-for-all, single-payer system. But I'm not gonna tell you it's

Germany or Canada, it'll be a huge reduction. Number two, the federal government buys a hell of a lot of drugs. Medicare, obviously, should be able to negotiate drug prices with the pharmaceutical industry.

If you really want to be radical – and I have introduced legislation about this in the past – what you do is you create a prize mechanism, and you say that we [the federal government] will provide a substantial amount of money – devil is in the details – to the company that provides a major breakthrough. We are not concerned about treating my baldness or athlete's foot. We are worried about Alzheimer's, cancer and diabetes. And if your company comes up with that cure, you're gonna be a very wealthy company. And we're gonna motivate you to do that.



We have to boldly transform our energy system away from fossil fuel. And at the same time – being mindful that the coal industry and the oil industry will be impacted – we have to protect the workers in those industries. We have to make sure that they have new jobs. You can't just ditch those guys. That's wrong.

In many ways, we know what to do. You move aggressively to energy efficiency. We can aggressively move to solar – both solar panels and other types of solar technology for utility-scale facilities. Wind: In Iowa, pretty soon 40 percent of their electricity is going to be coming from wind. We should be doing this all over the country.

You once called Obamacare "a good Republican program." Do you see Obamacare as a failure?

No, it's not a failure when you provide insurance to maybe 15 million people who had no health insurance – that's not a failure. When you do away with this obscene

gonna happen on the first day of my administration.

How do you control drug costs?

I was the first member of Congress to take people over the Canadian border to buy prescription drugs. We are told that it is OK to bring in lettuce and tomatoes from unregulated farms in Mexico. That is not a problem. But we cannot safely bring brand-name drugs from the largest pharmaceutical companies in the world across the Canadian border. That is the most absurd situation I have ever seen. That only speaks to the power of the drug industry. I have described the pharmaceutical industry as like Rocky Marciano. You know who Rocky Marciano is? *Undefeated*. They never lose. And the result is we pay by far the highest prices in the world for prescription drugs – one out of five people can't afford prescription drugs.

Re-importation would be a good start. If we end up paying the same prices as

Do you have a message for the young executive Martin Shkreli, who hiked the cost of his AIDS drug to \$750 a pill?

That is the kind of casino capitalism which I detest and which I will vigorously fight. It's not just him. What you're seeing are drug companies raising prices for one reason, and that is because they can. They have a product that people need, and they will charge as much as they possibly can. And that's wrong. Under my administration, trust me, that will not happen.

You have said that on Wall Street "fraud is a business model." Are we still vulnerable to a speculative crash?

Absolutely. Absolutely. We bailed out Wall Street because the major banks were "too big to fail." Today, three out of the four largest banks are much larger than they were when they were too big to fail. Do I worry about the possibility of having to bail them out again? I do. Congress does not regulate Wall Street, Wall Street regulates Congress.

If you look at Wall Street just from a competitive situation, the six largest financial institutions have assets of about \$10 trillion – which is equivalent to about 60 percent of the GDP of this country. They issue two-thirds of the credit cards, 35 percent of the mortgages in this country; they have 40 percent of all bank deposits. For that reason alone, Glass-Steagall should be re-established and the large financial institutions should be broken up. They're just too powerful. And I believe it. It's not just rhetoric. If a bank is too big to fail – which they are – they are too big to exist.

Do you think Hillary Clinton would be tough enough on Wall Street as president?

Of course not. Why would you think she would? For a start, look at where Hillary Clinton has gotten her money and support in the past. And if you look at her unwillingness to deal with the basic issues – and that is the re-establishment of Glass-Steagall and the fact that we have got to break up these large financial institutions – that is not Hillary Clinton's position.

And if you want to look at Hillary Clinton's history on these issues compared to mine, please do. You're looking at a guy on the House Banking Committee who helped lead the effort against deregulation in the 1990s – when the Clinton administration and Alan Greenspan, Wall Street, much of the media was saying that we have to pass deregulation. Wall Street spent \$5 billion – that's a “b” – \$5 billion over a 10-year period to deregulate Wall Street, which led us to the financial crisis of 2008. This has been my position for a very long time. And do I think Hillary Clinton is strong on this issue? No, I don't.

The Obama administration has been widely criticized for not prosecuting Wall Street executives who presided over the financial crisis. Would you have tried to send them to jail?

Ha!

...And do they still deserve to go?

I'd like to be able to tell you more than I can. I think meetings that one has with the president have got to be held private. But what I can tell you: About a half-dozen of us went to visit the president, I'm guessing six months into his [first] term. And we went into the White House, and Larry Summers was there and [Tim] Geithner was there. We had all their money people, all their financial people. That was the issue.

I like the president very much, and I have supported him. We've worked together. But these are some of the disagreements we have. The American people were crushed by the greed and illegal behavior on Wall Street, right? And the American people wanted justice.

And we said to the president – I wasn't alone on this – we said, “Mr. President, you gotta do something. You gotta be tough on this issue.” The end result was seven years have come and gone and there are still no high-ranking CEOs who are in jail. There are kids who smoke marijuana who have criminal records, but not CEOs of large corporations. No matter what kind of crimes and illegal activity, these guys [Wall Street CEOs] are too big to jail?

That is one of the reasons why people become alienated from the political process. They just don't see justice. From a public-policy point of view, in terms of holding people accountable for serious crimes, the Obama administration blew it. From a political point of view, in giving people confidence that we have a criminal-justice system that works for all, regardless of their wealth or power, it blew it.

Now what do you think a president should have done? On Day One, I am appointing a special committee to investigate the crimes on Wall Street. We're gonna move this quickly, and if these people are found guilty, they will be in jail. Nobody in America is above the law. Is that what Barack Obama said? Mm – not quite.

Is that what Bernie Sanders would say on Day One?

Absolutely. People have got to be held accountable for their crimes, and these guys committed some very serious crimes.

Is there any Republican now running that would make a tolerable president?

As the longest-serving Independent in the history of Congress, who has worked with many Republicans, who has friends who are Republicans, I hate to appear to be overly partisan. I really do. But if you look at this whole slate of Republican candidates for president, we are looking at a party that has moved very, very, very far to the right. And a party with many people who lie all the time in order to obfuscate what they really stand for.

If you scratch away the nuances, this is what they believe in: more tax breaks for billionaires; almost all believe that we should cut Social Security, some believe we should privatize it; cut Medicare; cut

Medicaid; cut federal aid to education; cut nutrition programs. And many of them are seemingly interested in getting us in another war in the Middle East.

I would say Rand Paul, on occasion, comes out and says something that is sensible. On the other hand, what did he recently say? That I'm like Pol Pot? So we don't want to overdo it here in expressing great sympathy for Rand Paul. But he has shown a consistent attention to the invasion of our privacy rights both from the federal government and corporate America. And he is much [more] reluctant than his colleagues to get us into another war. On those two issues, he has stood above the other Republican candidates.

A lot of progressives agree with your ideas, but they view Hillary Clinton as more electable. And given the dangers you just articulated in terms of the Republican agenda, does that not argue for moving ahead with a more traditional candidate?

The answer is that progressives who think that are wrong. And I mean that very sincerely. Look up the polls for a start. The last polls that I saw – check 'em out; they're in the machine – will show you that Bernie Sanders does better against Trump than Hillary does. On many of the matchups, I do better, OK? That's just a fact.

Number two, the only way that Republicans win elections is when voter turnout is low. We have brought out over 300,000 people to our meetings – a significant majority of those people are nontraditional voters. I would say 90 percent of the people who go to my meetings have never been to a Democratic Party meeting in their life, OK? The energy and the enthusiasm that we are developing in this campaign with young people, with low-income people, with working people, is the kind of enthusiasm that is needed to create large voter turnouts.

Frankly and honestly, Hillary Clinton is not generating enthusiasm. She has very strong establishment support. But establishment support will take you only so far.

Let's shift gears. What music are you listening to now?

On my iPad I have all of Beethoven's symphonies. I like classical music. I am a child of the Sixties – I like the Motown sound and the Supremes and the Temptations. I am one of the few human beings – and this will not find favor with ROLLING STONE readers – but I like disco music. I like Abba. We played some Abba at my wedding. I like the Bee Gees. I am pretty across-the-board in my musical tastes. I like Celine Dion. I like country music.

Are there a couple of albums that have meant a lot to you in your life?

Temptations, Supremes. I used to wake up in the morning and put 'em on and go off to work.

“This will not find favor with ‘Rolling Stone’ readers, but I like disco. We played some Abba at my wedding. I also like the Bee Gees.”

How did your Jewish upbringing shape your moral vision of politics?

My dad and mom were not political. They voted, they were Democrats, as was almost everybody in our community. My brother was political and introduced me to politics. But we were not a political family.

Clearly, one of the factors that influenced my life was the knowledge, as a kid, that my dad's family – and probably my mother's as well, but I knew more about my dad – that many members of his family were killed by Hitler. So what you learn, not intellectually when you're seven years of age, but it goes into your emotional, instinctual base, is that politics makes a difference. Hitler and the Nazis were elected to office in Germany. And 50 million people died in that war, including 6 million Jews.

That's why many African-Americans pay attention to politics in a different way. Politics meant that segregation and lynching existed in this country. And that's why African-Americans are very sensitive to what goes on in politics. And the same thing with Jewish people. That is how, instinctually, if you like, or emotionally, I gravitated into politics.

You mentioned your brother being more political....

He had a very strong influence in my intellectual development. He went to Brooklyn College, and he was active in the Young Democrats in Brooklyn College. So when he had to babysit me, he would drag me along, not happily, to meetings. My parents did not go to college. My father dropped out of high school. We didn't have many books in the house. And my brother brought books into the house. He exposed me to not only politics but psychology and so forth. He would bring in books by Freud, novels, books on political science.

Are you observant?

No.

Do you believe in God?

Yeah, I do. I do. I'm not into organized religion. But I believe that what impacts you impacts me, that we are all united in one way or another. When children go hungry, I get impacted. When kids die because they can't afford medicine, I get impacted. We are one world and one people. And that belief leads me to the conclusion that we just cannot turn our back on human suffering.

You're so Brooklyn that it's imprinted on your vocal cords. What kind of reinvention did it take to become a Vermonter?

When I was a kid growing up in Brooklyn, we lived in a lower-middle-class neighborhood in an apartment. I went to Boy Scout camp for three or four years. And going into the country was transfor-

mational for me. I remember on one occasion when I came back, I was crying, getting back into the city.

For whatever reason, very, very deep into me, I become a much more relaxed person being in the countryside in Vermont. I love it, ya know? If you leave Burlington and head out to the rural areas, like the Northeast Kingdom, my blood pressure goes down. Until this campaign, every year we used to do a pig roast in the town of Troy, Vermont. We'd have hundreds of people coming out. It is a spectacularly beautiful farm. I can picture it in my mind right now, the incredible beauty of the mountains near the Canadian border and just – people who I love very much. Vermont has obviously transformed my life.



Feel the Bern

With his wife, Jane, in their backyard in Burlington. "I become a much more relaxed person being in the countryside in Vermont."

People in Vermont are extraordinary people. If you stay in the state of Vermont, you don't make a lot of money, in general. If you want to make money, you go to Boston or you go to New York City. So people who were born there, who stay there, they stay there because they're attracted by both the physical beauty of the state and the human beauty of the state. And that makes a very, very good state.

Are there other ways that you unwind when you can't get to Vermont? I mean, you are a high-strung guy.

[Shouting] What did you say?!

You got me [laughs].

The truth is, Washington is a very strange world. Before this campaign, I would always go home to Vermont on weekends. That's where we did town meetings, that's where I was with my family. And I would find when I would come back to Washington, I would suddenly feel myself a little bit depressed. It was the transition of coming from Vermont back to D.C.

There is a style here, a way of life here in D.C., which is significantly phony. In that everybody is nice to each other – "Oh, my good and honorable friend" – and then they're spending \$18 million to try to destroy who you are. That's the nature of it. And you've got staffers who butter up their bosses and everything else. There is a very high level of phonyism and careerism. And you go back to Vermont – and I see it in Iowa and you see it all over the country – where people are people. That's all. And when you go home, you settle into a way of life where people are people.

You made news recently calling for federal legislation that would safeguard state marijuana legalization.

It'll be a major step forward if we take marijuana out of the Controlled Substances Act and allow those states – there are four, plus D.C., and others will follow – to do what they wanna do and legalize marijuana.

Would you consider wholesale pardons of nonviolent drug offenders?

The president has begun that initiative. And I want to credit the president for taking actions that are pretty courageous.

Would you expand that?

Yes. Surely, I would. I will not be the president of a country that has more people in jail than any other country.

Happily, there is a growing, bipartisan consensus that the criminal-justice system is very broken. The goal is to not spend \$80 billion a year locking up our people. The goal is to get corporations out of the business of running jails. The goal is to demilitarize our local police departments and to create police departments that are part of the community, not seen as an oppressive force. The goal is to do away with mandatory-minimum sentencing. So there's a lot, lot, lot that has to be done – but we have an opportunity to make real progress in this area.

The consensus among Democrats is that the NRA has a singular block on any federal gun control. What do you do to break its hold on Washington?

It is true. The NRA is a very, very powerful and effective lobbying force. But it also turns out that the NRA does not necessarily represent the views of gun owners, in general, and even their own members.

For decades now, people have been shouting at each other. There are some people in the extreme, want to ban every gun in America. And other people who say, "Yeah, I want a nuclear missile in my backyard, what's the problem with that?" But I believe there is a strong consensus which can move this country forward in trying to end the kind of [Cont. on 72]

SPECIAL COLLECTORS EDITION

Rolling Stone

WINNER
MEDIA
SPECIALS

Display until
Dec. 17, 2015
\$12.99

MADONNA: THE ULTIMATE GUIDE TO HER MUSIC & LEGEND

SPECIAL COLLECTORS EDITION

Madonna

The Ultimate
Guide to Her
Music & Legend

ON NEWSSTANDS NOW

Also available at bn.com/rsmadonna.

Reviews

"Sometimes I wake up in the morning/
And it cuts me like a knife/
I come face to face with my longing/
For another world, another life."
—BRUCE SPRINGSTEEN,
"The Time That Never Was"



Bruce Dives Back Into 'The River'

Springsteen's best archival release yet is packed with live drama and revealing outtakes



Bruce Springsteen

The Ties That Bind:
The River Collection Columbia
★★★★½

BY JOE LEVY

Bruce Springsteen sang about growing up on his first album, when he was 23, with the glee of a lost boy amazed to find anyone was listening. As he approached 30, though, his idea of adult life was different – something you couldn't necessarily run from, no matter how many songs about escaping down the highway you had.

The River is where Springsteen grew his sound up. The music he made – 60-plus songs over 18 months – focused the operatic sweep of *Born to Run* and the existential struggles of *Darkness on the Edge of Town* in smaller narratives anchored by concrete details. The subject matter was long-term relationships, with the hope that the songs would mark a path forward that wasn't only aesthetic.

The Ties That Bind shows how charged with desperation the work was, almost as in-

Reviews

exhaustible as the questions it asked. It expands the 1980 double album with 22 outtakes (half never before released) and a 10-song version of *The River* that Springsteen turned in to his label, then took back and spent a year expanding. This music isn't transitional: It knows its sound, which is what makes this the most satisfying of Springsteen's archival album sets. Even throwaways like the rockabilly rumble "Chain Lightning" and the acoustic guitar sketch "Mr. Outside" crackle with urgency.

Contradiction, too. Springsteen wanted an album that captured the breadth of his live shows – that's why he withdrew a ballad-heavy single disc and blew it out with garage-band

rompers that brimmed with what he's called the "never-ending now" of the three-minute pop song. He was making music to be played on the road, but he was writing it about the desire to establish a home and family. The sound of *The Ties That Bind* is dense, claustrophobic. The feeling is a room – a bar, an apartment, a studio – and the fight to establish meaning outside that room. The songs form boxes that the band strives to break out of, often led by the skyward soar of a Clarence Clemons solo.

A DVD of a 1980 concert in Arizona shows how that freedom translated live. As with most concert films, you may not find yourself firing it up more than once. No matter. The music is full of teenage dreams crashing up against reality, dusting themselves off and trying to figure out the next move. If we're lucky, it's a story that never stops.



Grimes

Art Angels 4AD

★★★★½

A shape-shifting pop diva ups her game, stays pleasingly weird

On 2012's *Visions*, singer-producer Claire Boucher (a.k.a. Grimes) was an indie-rock fan's ideal pop star – blurring moody electro and moodier R&B in music she made solo on GarageBand, turning the underground into her own diva stadium. The big news here is how much she's stepped up her game, sharpening her melodies and nuancing her airy vocals on fine songs like the atmospheric anthem "Flesh Without Blood." The avant-Britney title track offers copy for her ecstatic eclecticism: "Everything I love becomes everything I knew."

JON DOLAN



Puff Daddy and the Family

MMM Bad Boy ★★★★★

The flashy mogul takes it back to hard beats and smooth vibes

The last time Puff Daddy made a pure, uncut hip-hop album for car stereos instead of dance floors was back in 2001. Now the man who used to boost hits from the Eighties has re-emerged in a future where underground music already has a vaguely Eighties, Ferrari-at-night feel – and he wants to cruise along. The first half has the lurching feel of B.I.G.'s *Life After Death* as filtered through the *Drive* soundtrack. The back half nods to Memphis rap and grooves like uptown funk circa '83 ("You Could Be My Lover").

CHRISTOPHER R. WEINGARTEN

LISTEN NOW!

Hear key tracks from these albums at

RollingStone.com/albums.



ROCKABILIA.COM
YOUR MUSIC MERCHANDISE SOURCE

OVER 250,000 ITEMS FROM YOUR FAVORITE BANDS

T-SHIRTS • SLIM FIT TEES • HOODIES • LONG SLEEVES • TANK TOPS
CREWNECK SWEATERS • JACKETS • JERSEYS • VESTS • PANTS
SHORTS • WOMEN'S FASHION • BABYWEAR • HATS • BEANIES
SHOES • JEWELRY • BACKPACKS • BAGS • POSTERS • TOYS
FLAGS • PATCHES • PINS • BUTTONS • STICKERS • WALLET
KEY CHAINS • DVDs • LIMITED EDITION COLLECTIBLES AND MORE...




















Rockabilia.com offers the largest selection of music merchandise you will find on the Web - period.

For a free catalog, visit rockabilia.com, call 855-455-1121 or write: PO Box 39 Dept 750 • Chanhassen, MN 55317 • USA






INTRODUCING ROCK 'N' ROLL'S ONLY WINE CLUB

Rolling Stone

WINE & CLUB



www.RollingStoneWineClub.com

THREE BOTTLES FROM OUR AWARD-WINNING
CALIFORNIA VINEYARD SHIPPED TO YOU QUARTERLY.
JOIN TODAY—MEMBERSHIP ONLY \$39.95

The trademarks shown are registered trademarks of the respective trademark owners and are used under license.

Rolling Stone Wine Club is owned and operated by Wines That Rock.

JLAB
AUDIO



GUARANTEED COMFORT

With ergonomic Form-Fit™ Earcups and a stainless steel metal backbone, not to mention audiophile-loving, award-winning sound, Flex Headphones are the go-to for any music lover, record remixer, or bold city-goer.

**Get 10% off* with code ROLLINGSTONE
at jlabaudio.com**

©2015 JLab Audio. *Offer expires 12/31/15.

THE it FLASK



THE STAINLESS
STEEL VACUUM
INSULATED STAY
HOT OR COLD
EIGHT HOURS
LEAK-PROOF
DOUBLE LOCK
DIAMOND
COLLECTION
TRAVEL
FLASK

rove
NEVER STATIC

[f](https://www.facebook.com/roveliving) [y](https://www.youtube.com/roveliving) [p](https://www.pinterest.com/roveliving) [i](https://www.instagram.com/roveliving) /ROVELIVING.COM

25% OFF COUPON CODE RS25

FARE THEE WELL

The Historic Concerts
Celebrating 50 Years of

GRATEFUL DEAD

Give the gift of
Music & Memories

Available On
CD * DVD * BLU-RAY

Reviews

Take me
to Church:
The singer's
fifth album
is his most
eclectic.



Eric Church Tosses Off a Surprise Gem

Nashville star tries out falsetto soul,
name-checks Tweedy and Wonder

Eric Church *Mr. Misunderstood* EMI Nashville

★★★★



Eric Church has always been excellent at balancing whiskey-charged toughness with openhearted musical subtlety: His first great hit was 2012's "Springsteen," a masterwork of literary detail and melodic texture. So it's no big shock to hear him big-upping Wilco's Jeff Tweedy on this album, where he cleverly juggles genres and often leans on his somber singer-songwriter side. Recorded in about a month and surprise-released to fans, it's full of casual stunners: "Mixed Drinks About Feelings" is a closing-time piano duet with Susan Tedeschi; "Chattanooga Lucy" sees Church working a soul falsetto over a stomping dance groove. Church's warm, generous wit grounds the album, particularly on the title track, which harkens back to Wilco's 1996 opus, *Being There*, as he empathizes with a rock & roll misfit. The most moving moment, "Record Year," is Church at his ecumenical best. It's a sweet, sad ode to post-breakup boozing next to a turntable that has Waylon, Willie and Stevie Wonder's *Songs in the Key of Life* in its stack of vinyl Band-Aids. Tweedy should be happy to be included in such fine company.

JON DOLAN



CeeLo Green

Heart Blanche Atlantic

★★

CeeLo gets his goofy groove on again, but the magic is gone

Five years after the ridiculous, impeccably catchy "Fuck You," CeeLo Green is trying on his funky-weirdo Prince shoes again. This time, they don't quite fit. *Heart Blanche*'s campy soul grooves come and go in spectacular waves, lifted by some of Green's best-ever vocal work, but are drowned by the album's pretentious tendencies—see "Robin Williams," a ponderous requiem for dead celebrities. He's far better on his most simple pop tunes, like the fun "Est. 1980s" and the sweet "Music to My Soul." In an era where disco has found a second life all over the pop charts, Green's throwback barely makes a thud.

BRITTANY SPANOS



**Steve Martin
and Edie Brickell**

So Familiar Rounder

★★★

There's nothing funny about this album of tasteful folk and roots

Steve Martin has long since proved his deep chops as a bluegrass banjo-picker; if you're looking for wild and craziness (or even any discernible vocal presence), you'll be disappointed on his second LP with Edie Brickell. He's happy to play the tasteful backing partner in songs that honor musical traditions and mix them up a little, too. "Won't Go Back" endearingly recalls the 1980s college-hippie pop Brickell pushed up the charts with the New Bohemians; the elegant piano ballads "I'm by Your Side" and "Way Back in the Day" shade nicely between jazz and country.

JON DOLAN



Def Leppard

Def Leppard Mailboat

★★½

Eighties pop-metal gods explore new directions, for some reason

Def Leppard's latest LP opens with "Let's Go," a proud call-back to "Pour Some Sugar on Me," where singer Joe Elliott asks, "Do you really wanna do this now?" The next track, the glam-bam rocker "Dangerous," answers that question with a hearty "Sure, maybe." Elsewhere, the Leps push their songwriting in frustratingly inventive directions – check the dance-pop-flavored "Energized" and the psychedelic folk-blues "Battle of My Own." If you miss the old days, you might be better off reading guitarist Phil Collen's new memoir. **JON DOLAN**

A Papal Sermon With a Beat

Progressive pontiff preaches peace on a surprisingly proggy album

Pope Francis *Wake Up!*

Believe Digital ★★★



Pope Francis' message of peace and economic justice has been an inspiration to millions of people all over the world. How's his music? Um...infallible!

Wake Up! sets his speeches and prayers (in Spanish, Italian, Portuguese and English) to pop, rock and classical compositions performed by Italian session musicians, several with roots in the country's Seventies rock scene. You can hear that influence in the tubular synth noodling that opens "Annuntio Vobis Gaudium Magnum!" Other songs nod to Francis' South American background. The only song in English, "Wake Up! Go! Go! Forward!" is the most rocking, riding heraldic metal riffs and a fire-tongued solo into a sermon on activism. Usually, the music – some of which is quite lovely – veers closer to the New Age neoclassicism of Vangelis or Kitaro, a warm fit for Fran-



The pontiff at the Vatican, October

cis' tender, elegant speaking voice. But if the sonics bathe us in soft Sunday-morning light, the message is pure punk-rock redemption. Speaking to an amped-up Brazilian crowd on "La Iglesia No Puede Ser Una ONG!" he entreats, "I want the noise to go out, I want the church to go out onto the streets." Keep bringin' the noise, Your Holiness. **JON DOLAN**

QUEEN LATIFAH
MARY J. BLIGE DAVID ALAN GRIER NE-YO
ELIJAH KELLEY UZO ADUBA AMBER RILEY
COMMON STEPHANIE MILLS
INTRODUCING SHANICE WILLIAMS AS DOROTHY

Ease on down the road to Oz!

The WIZ
LIVE!

THURSDAY DEC 3 • 8/7c

NBC

Special Acrobatic Effects by
CIRQUE DU SOLEIL

★ AMERICA'S ★ ORIGINAL CRAFT VODKA®

WINE ENTHUSIAST RATINGS

SCORE OUT OF 100 POINTS

TITO'S® 95 USA PTS
HANDMADE VODKA

Ketel One® HOLLAND	89 PTS	Belvedere® POLAND	84 PTS
Grey Goose® FRANCE	84 PTS	Absolut® SWEDEN	84 PTS



Tito's



Handmade
VODKA

Crafted in an Old Fashioned Pot Still
by America's Original Microdistillery

AUSTIN ★ TEXAS

DISTILLED & BOTTLED BY FIFTH GENERATION, INC. AUSTIN, TX. 40% ALC/VOL

My American Handmade Vodka beats the giant "Imports" every day. That's because it's distilled six times, we use old-fashioned pot stills we built ourselves, and taste test every batch to make sure you get only the best. Try American!

Tito's is made from corn, so it's naturally gluten-free.



Tito



Spirit Journal

"America's first craft
sippin' vodka"

Wall Street Journal

Unanimous Double
Gold Winner!!!

World Spirits Competition

"Smooth, I mean
really smooth!"

CNN

Certified



Gluten-Free

★ **TitosVodka.com** ★
Handcrafted to be savored responsibly.



PHOTO: JEFFREY M. HARRIS FOR TITOS VODKA

By Peter Travers

Endgame for the Girl on Fire

Jennifer Lawrence shoots her last arrow and brings a snoozing film franchise back to propulsive life

The Hunger Games: Mockingjay – Part 2

Jennifer Lawrence

Directed by Francis Lawrence

★★★

AUDIENCES GOT PISSY about last year's *Mockingjay – Part 1*, the third film in the *Hunger Games* franchise. They rightly felt gamed by a blatant cash grab that took the last book in Suzanne Collins' bestselling young-adult trilogy and carved out two movies when a single would have done. *Part 1* was so padded and puffed up that the exciting parts got lost in the stuffing.

The good news is that *Mockingjay – Part 2*, the big finale, has quit the ass-dragging in favor of what made the book a page-turner. There's the visual fireworks, for sure. But there's also the darkness of the theme about how power can corrupt heroes as well as villains. Director Francis Lawrence returns with screenwriters Peter Craig and Danny Strong, and they behave like workhorses with the bridles off.

Will this new energy reverse the series' diminishing box office? *Mockingjay – Part 1* fell more than \$70 million short of the original's wowza \$408 million gross. If *Mockingjay – Part 2* rides into boffo nirvana, thank the actress in the saddle. Jennifer Lawrence has won an Oscar (*Silver Linings Playbook*) and global stardom since she first played the role of Katniss Everdeen, in 2012. Lawrence, 25, took Katniss from a shy teen enslaved in poverty to become the "girl on fire," the rebel freedom fighter armed only with



As Katniss, Lawrence takes aim while Dormer, her videographer, captures it all for posterity.

bow and arrow and a spirit to bring down the Capitol, run by the despotic President Snow (Donald Sutherland). Lawrence is the kind of star you'd follow anywhere, which makes her the perfect Katniss.

Even when the *Hunger Games* series gets winded pimping old tricks, Lawrence is the oxygen that brings it

back to life. Katniss seizes her role as the Mockingjay, the symbol of hope for the movement to end Snow's reign of terror. The movie gives her other obstacles. Frankly, I don't give a damn whether Katniss ends up with dull Gale (Liam Hemsworth) or puckish Peeta (Josh Hutcherson), who's brainwashed by Snow, but not enough to give him a personality.

The juice comes outside the love story. Sutherland is a sneering delight as Snow. Julianne Moore excels as Alma Coin, the rebel leader Katniss trusts at her peril. Elizabeth Banks is a marvel as shallow Effie Trinket, the fashion eccentric (think Gaga unleashed) who becomes a Katniss ally. Philip Seymour Hoffman didn't live to finish his role as gamemaster Plutarch. But we hear the character's final words in a letter movingly read by Woody Harrelson's Haymitch.

Though Katniss is tracked by Cressida (Natalie Dormer), a videographer tasked with propagandizing the Mockingjay as a reality star, Lawrence makes sure we see Katniss coming into her own. Even with the rush of action – firebombs, land mines, underground mutants, a near-drowning in black oil – Katniss finds her moral center. That gravity is a risk in a Hollywood aimed at short attention spans. But it sets *Mockingjay – Part 2* above the herd and lets *The Hunger Games* go out in style. Sweet.

When Love Goes Wrong

By the Sea

Brad Pitt, Angelina Jolie

Directed by Angelina Jolie

★

Writer-director Angelina Jolie's attempt to emulate European art cinema is a slow, sodden, stupefyingly dull take on a 1970s marriage gone bad. Jolie plays Nessa, and her husband, Brad Pitt, is Nessa's husband, Roland. The Pitts, it must be said, suffer gorgeously. Vacationing at a swank hotel in Malta, they spy through a peephole at newlyweds next



Pitt and Jolie in marital crisis

door (Mélanie Laurent, Melvil Poupaud). Nessa and Roland barely talk. When they finally do, you pray they'll shut up. "I smell fish," Nessa says, sniffing. Nah. What stinks is the movie.

FROM TOP: MURRAY CLOSE, UNIVERSAL PICTURES

BACKSTAGE PASS

SPECIAL OFFERS AND PROMOTIONS

Stoli® Authentic Mule Mugs for the Holidays



The Moscow Mule is a classic cocktail best served with Stoli® Vodka in our authentic copper Mule Mugs.

Each set includes two 12-ounce logoed copper plated mugs for only \$24.99.



**THIS HOLIDAY SEASON,
BUY A SET FOR YOURSELF
AND AS A GIFT FOR
FRIENDS OR FAMILY.**

**GO TO
TheMuleIsMine.com**

SAVOR STOLI® RESPONSIBLY. Stoli Group USA, LLC,
New York, NY © 2015 Spirits International, B.V.

Movies

A Tale of Forbidden Passion

Carol

Cate Blanchett, Rooney Mara, Kyle Chandler

Directed by Todd Haynes

★★★★

IT'S THE EARLY 1950s, and Manhattan shopgirl Therese Belivet (Rooney Mara) is on the phone with Carol Aird (Cate Blanchett), a married socialite who arouses feelings shy Therese can't articulate. "Ask me things," says Carol. And the way Blanchett, an actress of sublime beauty and brilliance, caresses the word "things," opens up a universe of unspoken desire. That's a specialty for director Todd Haynes (*Far From Heaven*), who reaches a new peak of film artistry.

Phyllis Nagy adapted her delicately nuanced script from a book, *The Price of Salt*, that suspense author Patricia Highsmith published under a pseudonym. Sure, a lesbian love story was hot stuff in 1952, but a lesbian love story with hints



Blanchett and Mara share a love that dares not speak its name.

of a happy ending – that was revolutionary.

Camera virtuoso Edward Lachman finds visual poetry in the hothouse eroticism that envelops Carol and Therese, an amateur photographer who keeps framing Carol in her lens. Blanchett, a dream walking in Sandy Powell's frocks, delivers a master class in acting. And Mara is flawless, revealing Therese's sexual confusion as she moves away from boyfriend Richard (Jake Lacy) and toward a seductive unknown. When the two women drive

cross-country, lost in each other, Carol's husband, Harge (a fiercely fine Kyle Chandler), shows his resentment by suing for custody of their daughter.

Haynes' commitment to outcasts, then and now, makes *Carol* a romantic spellbinder that cuts deep. It's one of the year's very best films. Blanchett and Mara should have Oscar calling for giving heroic dimensions to characters who step out of the shadows and into a harsh world that their courage just might change. I wanted to cheer. 

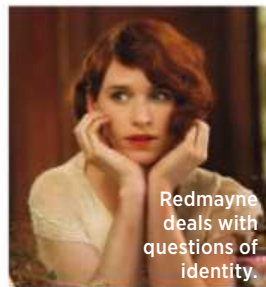
The Girl Inside the Man

The Danish Girl

Eddie Redmayne

Directed by Tom Hooper

★★★½



Redmayne deals with questions of identity.

CAITLYN JENNER IS A transgender icon. But nearly a century ago, Danish painter Einar Wegener became a pioneer in gender-reassignment surgery. You can't take your eyes off Eddie Redmayne

(*The Theory of Everything*), who is flat-out fabulous as Einar. As he is as Lili Elbe, the woman who begins to emerge when Einar's artist wife, Gerda (Alicia Vikander), asks him to model in stockings and heels.

Director Tom Hooper dodges the biopic clichés in Lucinda Coxon's script by pushing the actors to live in the spaces between words. Vikander does wonders as a wife who stands by her woman. And Redmayne deserves every superlative, showing Lili experimenting with her new feminine wiles. Through Redmayne, we feel Lili's power in a room of admirers, and her fear of what's next. The film never gets too graphic about sex or surgery. What Hooper has crafted is a work of probing intelligence and passionate heart. 



MAGIC-FLIGHT

HANDMADE PORTABLE VAPORIZERS



MUAD-DIB

LAUNCH BOX



Available at



WWW.VAPORNATION.COM
YOUR ONLINE VAPORIZER SUPERSTORE

BERNIE SANDERS

[Cont. from 61] massacres that we have seen in recent years.

It's not like ideas that I'm pulling out of my head. These are ideas that, without exception, have the support of the majority of the American people. And they are expanding and improving the instant background check to make sure the guns do not get into the hands of people who are criminals, or have mental problems. That's kinda common sense. Number two, you got this loophole that now exists for gun shows, which enables guns to be sold to people without a background check. That's got to be eliminated. Number three, and I think there's majority support for it, I don't think certain types of assault weapons that are military weapons, designed just to kill people, should be sold in the United States, and I would ban those as well.

We're gonna have to bring law enforcement together. We're gonna have to bring some of the sensible gun people together with some of the gun-control advocates and work on that consensus. If we do that, we can do something significant.

You have praised the lawsuits that humbled the Big Tobacco companies. Why are guns different? Why did you vote in 2005 to strip – from gun victims and the states that pick up the cost of gun violence – the same right to sue these gun companies? Didn't ending the threat of lawsuits remove any impetus to have safer products, or to clean up distribution networks to keep guns out of the hands of criminals?

It's a piece of legislation which has a number of provisions in it. I come from a state that has virtually no gun control and, thank God [*knocks on wood*], has a reasonably low crime rate, OK? That is the culture of my state. But you can go through every vote I cast on guns. Now we can talk about Hillary Clinton representing Wall Street as a senator from New York, right? That's what happens in a state, OK?

I had voted for instant background checks, to do away with the gun-show loophole. That's a pretty strong record for somebody that comes from a state that has no gun control. Every one of those votes was opposed by a lot of people in my state. So that's the context.

Now this legislation. We have a lot of gun stores in Vermont, small shops. If Mr. Smith, the gun-shop owner, sells you a gun legally, you have your instant background check, you get the gun. Then you flip out and you shoot your wife. It happens. Should the gun-shop owner be held liable for selling you the product?

I would think the courts could make that determination.

No. Well, let me make it: I don't think he should. I honestly don't think it should any more than if you picked up that table and banged me over the head and killed

me. Would you hold that person [who sold the table] liable? We know what guns do. Guns have the capability of killing people. But I do not believe that somebody who lawfully sells a gun to somebody else should be held responsible if somebody uses that product wrongfully. That was in that bill.

Now, there are provisions in that bill which I disagree with. I am certainly willing to look at that legislation again and do away with the pernicious aspects of it.

Have you been supportive of Obama's approach to the War on Terror?

What Obama has been trying to do is thread a very difficult needle. And that is not to put American troops back into combat. I support that. Number two, to try to support forces who can take the war to Al Qaeda and to ISIS. That's very difficult – to make sure that the people we are arming do not end up surrendering their weapons to anti-American forces. In Syria, we all want to get rid of Assad – who is a horrendous dictator – but a greater priority is to defeat ISIS. And the president is right, that if we can work with Iran, with Russia, with Saudi Arabia to defeat ISIS, that will be a step forward.

How would President Sanders approach Israel?

The United States will support the security of Israel, help Israel fight terrorist attacks against that country and maintain its independence. But under my administration, the United States will maintain an even-handed approach to the area. I believe in a two-state solution, where Israel has security and the Palestinians have a state of their own. The United States has got to work with the Palestinian people in improving their standard of living, which is now a disaster, and has been made much worse since the war in Gaza.

You've said of Netanyahu, "I'm not a great fan." What's your issue with him?

Do I think that Netanyahu overreacted? Yes, I do. War is terrible unto itself. But I think that Israel overreacted and caused more civilian damage than was necessary. They have very sophisticated weapons systems. They make the case, and I respect that, that they do try to make sure that civilians are not damaged. But the end result was that a lot of civilians were killed and a lot of housing was destroyed. There was terrible, terrible damage done.

As president, would you consider pardoning Edward Snowden?

I would have the attorney general negotiate with his attorneys. I think he broke the law. On the other hand, he educated the American people about the extraordinary degree of surveillance that takes place in this country, which in many ways may be unconstitutional. Clearly, that has got to be taken into consideration when you talk about what kind of punishment

he receives. He should not be treated like a common criminal. He's gonna have to come home. He has the opportunity to make his case. He's gonna be tried by a jury of his peers, and we have to await that decision.

We talked about Debs. Who are your other political or personal heroes?

Martin Luther King. And I know – so what? Everybody likes Martin Luther King Jr. But he grew to broaden his critique of American society beyond that of racism and segregation, and that was an extraordinary step forward. He was a man of unbelievable courage who took on the war in Vietnam at great risk, who took on the issue of poverty in America, not just black poverty. Before he was assassinated, he was planning a poor people's march on Washington – of blacks and whites and Native Americans, Hispanics. In the years before he died, he wasn't considered an American hero. Martin Luther King talked about the fact that, in this country, we have "socialism for the rich and rugged free enterprise for the poor." He didn't have to do that. He did it.

Franklin Delano Roosevelt was a moderate-type governor of New York, became president of the United States and made a decision. In 1936, after he's renominated, he gets up and says, "I welcome the hatred of the economic royalist. They hate me, and I welcome that hatred." Where we are today, we need candidates for president, we need presidents who can do the same thing. Roosevelt was saying, "I'm on the side of the poor and working people of this country. I am gonna take these people on, and, yes, they're gonna hate me, and I welcome that hatred."

A guy who has not gotten the credit that he deserves is Jesse Jackson. What he did in the concept of the Rainbow Coalition, we take for granted now. The political concept that we can bring blacks, whites, Hispanics and Asian-Americans together is a very important development in American political history. It certainly laid the groundwork for Obama.

You describe a nation beset by crisis after crisis, and have said, "The challenges we face now are more dire than at any time in our modern history." What gives you the most hope for the country?

I'll tell you what gives me the most hope for the country. You saw it [at the rally] last night. These kids give me enormous confidence in the future. To see the faces on these kids who are adamant in their opposition to racism, to homophobia, to sexism, who want a world of peace, not of war. The young African-American girl who started it off talks about a climate of love, not hatred. Beautiful, just beautiful stuff. And I see that all over the country. I just see a lot of beauty out there, and a lot of good people who want to transform this country in a way that makes it a very different nation than we have right now.



Holiday Gift Guide

Vigor Labs

Ball Refill and Chainsaw are the hottest new sexual enhancers that volumize semen and improve hardness for the ultimate sexual experience. Black Snake is #1 for increasing male size naturally without side effects. Combine your stack with Wrecking Balls to raise testosterone naturally to new heights. Users report dramatic results!

Each product is \$19.95 and Black Snake is \$39.99 at 1 (888)698-6603 or

www.VigorLabs.com



Spoil Her This Christmas!

Send her a PajamaGram® this Christmas! Over 200 premium PJs, each with FREE keepsake gift packaging and a FREE personalized card. It's a gift you'll BOTH love. Shown: Ruby Velour Lounge Set
www.PajamaGram.com
1-800-GIVE-PJS

PajamaGram



Spend This Holiday Season With Sumo!

Running around all day to get the perfect gift or make the perfect dinner? Why not give your body a break with our Omni now at only \$99! With our improved material and 72 hour shipping, what more do you need?

Call us at 1866 340 7866 or visit www.sumolounge.com today and get comfortable this holiday season!

www.sumolounge.com

1-866-340-7866



Vapor Genie

Enjoy smoking herbs without the tar, smoke or offensive odors. Vaporizing is cleaner and tastes better. VaporGenie vaporizing pipes are portable and powered by an ordinary lighter. Many styles available, \$35-109 with free shipping. Made in USA. New battery powered portable also available, \$90.

www.VaporGenie.com



T-shirt Quilts

Campus Quilt Company turns your t-shirts into an awesome new quilt. Get those hard-earned shirts out of your closet and off your back! We do all of the work and make it easy for you to have a t-shirt quilt in as few as two weeks. As featured on the Today Show, Rachael Ray Show, and Real Simple. Mention you saw us in Rolling Stone for \$10 off. 502-968-2850

www.CampusQuilt.com



VINTAGE ALBUM COVER WALL CLOCKS

Handmade from original 33LP album covers

These unique handcrafted wall clocks are created from original recycled 33LP album covers which are attached to vintage vinyl records. We have thousands of covers to choose from or simply request your favorite album and we'll build a Vintage Album Cover Clock especially for you. A gift that truly touches the heart! Made In USA

1-561-881-8053

WWW.TUNESCOMPANY.COM



VIAGRA, CIALIS, LEVITRA, PROPECIA, VALTREX ONLINE!

All FDA approved brand name medications delivered by USA Pharmacies and Prescribed by USA Doctors since 1998. Order Online, by Phone (800-314-2829) or Mobile Device! Safe - Secure - Discreet Special offers online at;

www.viamedic.com/rs/



Dive Bar T-Shirts

Join the club and receive a new T-shirt every month from the best bars you've never heard of.

DiveBarShirtClub.com





RELEASE ME
Eddie Vedder in
Spokane,
Washington, 1993

RS 668 OCTOBER 28TH, 1993

Pearl Jam's Uneasy Rise



When writer Cameron Crowe visited Pearl Jam at a Bay Area recording studio in the spring of 1993, singer Eddie Vedder was having second thoughts about their success. The band wasn't done making *Vs.* – the follow-up to the multiplatinum debut, *Ten* – but it had already decided not to make any videos and wasn't even willing to talk about singles. "That's not why we wrote songs," said Vedder. "We didn't write to make hits." Crowe followed them to Europe, where they opened for U2 in stadiums, though Vedder kept insisting he'd rather be playing clubs. "I feel like everybody else in the band is happier with [success] than me," he said. "They enjoy it, even. I can't seem to do that."

In the Issue: RS 668

Counting Crows Take Flight

Counting Crows

August and Everything After

DGC ★★★★★



"Great rock & roll is often cinematic, creating worlds that listeners can enter, sonic moments that they can live in. What is most impressive about *August and Everything After* is how many such moments there are.... That a young band achieves so much on its first album is an event well worth celebrating."

New Artist: Sheryl Crow

After years of singing backup for superstars like Don Henley and Michael Jackson, Sheryl Crow finally got her own career off the ground with the release of *Tuesday Night Music Club*, named after the informal sessions at a Pasadena, California, studio that produced the LP. "By the end of each night, we'd have recorded either a piece of shit or a great work," she told *ROLLING STONE*.



Hard Times for MC Hammer

It was only a few years after *Please Hammer, Don't Hurt 'Em*, which sold 10 million copies, but the Oakland rapper was facing financial troubles and seeking a label that would give him \$25 million. "It's way too high," one executive told *ROLLING STONE*. "He's going to have to come back down to reality fast."



 To dive further into five decades of exclusive *ROLLING STONE* photos, interviews and more, go to RollingStone.com/coverwall.



Let's
Go
Places

PLAY NOW



Learn more at toyota.com/tacoma

Prototype shown with options. Production model may vary. GoPro® camera not included. GoPro, HERO, and their respective logos are trademarks of GoPro, Inc. GoPro® mount standard; girlfriend optional. ©2015 Toyota Motor Sales, U.S.A., Inc.

THE ALL-NEW
TACOMA

FREE MUSIC FOR EVERYTHING YOU DO

LISTEN TO ELECTROPOP LOFT PARTY RADIO

Google Play Music has curated radio stations to make every moment better. So next time you need party music that's chill-yet-danceable, visit Google Play Music for "Electropop Loft Party Radio" featuring "So Deep" by Kiesza and more exceptional electropop songs with dreamy melodies, sublime vocals and swanky synths.

Try for free at g.co/music or tap  on your Android phone

Google Play Music

